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AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

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CHAPTER I

EXTENT OF HELLENISTIC INFLUENCE ON THE BOOK OF WISDOM

Although all commentators on the Book of Wisdom (Wis) recognize hellenistic influence upon the work, no systematic attempt to show the extent and specific areas of this influence has heretofore been undertaken. The starting point for such a study must be a comparison of the book's vocabulary and style with the Septuagint Bible (LXX). Divergencies from the LXX must then be studied in the light of extant pagan Greek writings. Many of the words that appear in the Old Testament only in Wis are from the vocabulary used in the religious, philosophical, ethical, and poetical literature known during the hellenistic period.

That the inspired author knew this terminology and saw fit to employ it at times in preference to LXX phraseology shows an acquaintance with hellenistic culture. The modern reader is interested in knowing to what extent his book "represents an effort to place at the service of revelation the philosophies of the time."[1] This study is an attempt to show

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[1] R. Tournay, RB 64 (1958) 610, in reviewing G. Ziener, Die theologische Begriffssprache im Buche der Weisheit. Bonn: Hanstein, 1956. (Abbreviated: Begriffssprache).

both the extent (Chapter I) and the intensity (Chapter II) of hellenistic influence upon the unknown Sage who wrote Wis. The conclusions of these first two chapters will then be utilized to investigate the literary genre that he employed (Chapter III). The conclusions will be tested by showing that the book is a unified work addressed to a particular audience (Chapter IV).

The procedure in this first chapter is to present significant contacts with hellenistic culture in the book's vocabulary and style in areas where it departs from LXX usage. This study of the nature of the book's vocabulary provides both the basis and the guidelines for determining the intensity of the influence, the topic of the following chapter. Great advances in Greek studies have been made since the basic commentaries on Wis were written. This investigation depends upon progress in Greek lexicography and upon studies in Hellenism by such authorities as L. Cerfaux, F. Cumont, E. des Places, A. J. Festugière, A. D. Nock, and L. Robert. The excellent critical edition of Wis by J. Ziegler is the text used,[2] but the following departures from his readings and punctuation should be noted:

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[2]J. Ziegler, Sapientia Salomonis. Septuaginta XII, 1. Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962.

Wis 2.23. Read ἀϊδιότητος "of eternity," with many MSS. This is the reading accepted by A. Rahlfs and now also by P. W. Skehan.[3] It appears more in harmony with the preoccupation of the author with personal immortality; see 1.16; 15.17.

Wis 4.15. The longer text of the MSS, bracketed by Ziegler as an apparent reduplication of 3.9cd, is accepted. Although these two stichs may have been repeated here by scribes in an effort to avoid an anacoluthon, the author's style is at times obscure. But he has many short repetitions, as will be shown in Chapter IV, and textual evidence favors retaining these two stichs as authentic.

Wis 12.5b. As J. Fichtner has demonstrated, this stich concludes before the second καί, and the last two words belong with 5c.[4] The hyperbaton helps to determine the division and sense of this difficult verse, which is discussed in this chapter under religious vocabulary (on p. 18).

Wis 12.24. Read ἐχθρῶν "of their enemies," with most MSS. See Wis 12.22, 27; 15.15, 18.

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[3]P. W. Skehan, in reviewing Ziegler's edition, CBQ 24 (1962) 439. The same review shows that no stich has been lost in Wis 1.15; but this involves no change in the text itself, but only in the punctuation.

[4]J. Fichtner, Weisheit Salomos (HAT, 6) 46.

Wis 17.17, 18. Read εἴτε as a single word in both verses. The MS evidence is divided for the spelling. The same problem appears for this word in the Letter of Aristeas 136, and the latest editor, A. Pelletier, writes as a single word.

Wis 18.22. Read ὄχλον with all the MSS, against the widespread but unnecessary conjecture of Bauermeister. Wis simply employs the word in its secondary sense of "distress." The same meaning appears in the epic of the Jewish dramatist Ezekiel.[5]

Wis 18.23. Read ὀργήν "anger," with all MSS, against the conjecture of Ziegler, which is based on the Latin version. The Latin impetum is too weak a support to emend an intelligible text, especially when the word "anger" occurs in this section two other times, in verses 20 and 25. Such repetition is characteristic of the author's style.

Wis 19.15. Vocalize ἀλλ' ἤτις for the sake of the sense. Furthermore, this book never uses the comparison ἀλλ' ἤ .

Usage Not Found in the LXX

The investigation of the Book of Wisdom that serves as the

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[5]Ezekiel, verse 213, edited by K. Kuiper, REJ 46 (1903) 68-69. Note that he makes the same conjecture as Bauermeister.

basis of this study revealed that the author used a relatively large vocabulary. The entire book contains only 6952 words, but employs a vocabulary of 1734 different words, of which 1003 appear only once.[6] In imitation of Hebrew versification, the Sage presents his material in the form of stichs or short sense-lines, using a total of 1127. However, in marked contrast to the obviously translated books of the LXX, he writes in a "good Greek" style,[7] that is, he manifests the influence of training in Greek rhetoric. Features of his style will be treated at the end of this chapter. For the present, it is sufficient to cite B. F. Westcott's judgment that Wis is typical of the "style of composition which would be produced by the sophistic schools of rhetoric."[8] Even those commentators who hold that some of

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[6]Unless otherwise stated, all statistics about Wis are based on personal research, based on the critical edition of Ziegler. Since this text has not been translated, those given are also personal. Numbering of verses follows Ziegler also.

[7]O. Montevecchi, "Dal Paganesimo al Cristianesimo: Aspetti dell'evoluzione della lingua greca nei papiri dell'Egitto," Aegyptus 37 (1957) 41-59, on p. 51.

[8]B. F. Westcott, "Wisdom of Solomon," Smith's Dictionary of the Bible (Cambridge, 1872) 4. 3545-3551, on p. 3547. As examples of rhetorical style he cites the author's "florid redundancy, straining after effect," and balancing of words.

the earlier parts of the book are based on a Semitic original admit that the Sage transformed his model to make it conform to his own style of idiomatic and rhetorical Greek. For example, C. C. Torrey writes, "The diction of the same learned Greek scholar, moreover, is unmistakably present in every part."[9]

In this chapter, through comparison with extant pagan documents, significant links are established between the vocabulary and style of Wis and the hellenistic environment in which its author lived. He shows a marked trend away from LXX terminology by using 335 words, almost 20% of his total vocabulary, never found in any other canonical book of the Old Testament, although he is treating subject matter found in many of them. Of these words many more than the 18 listed by G. Ziener are characteristic of the hellenistic milieu.[10] Obviously every new word used cannot be attributed to hellenistic influence, but the examples to be presented show a thorough familiarity

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[9]C. C. Torrey, Apocryphal Literature, 100.

[10]G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 73. His short list gives an erroneous impression that the Sage's contacts with hellenistic culture are quite limited. In reality, they are manifold and deserve this fuller investigation. In addition to the 335 words, Wis contains another 126 that are found in the canonical Old Testament only in one other book. The most common agreements here are with Sirach and 2 Mc. With both of these Wis has 19 words in that category. Words used in Wis in a different sense from the LXX will be treated below.

with pagan culture.

Before the discussion of the words not found in the LXX, however, attention should be called to the fact that at times the Sage uses words in a sense foreign to that translation. In his usage the following are significant examples of hellenistic influence:

Wis 10.19. ἄβυσσος in the classical usage as an adjective meaning "bottomless,' rather than as the noun "abyss."

Wis 17.17; 19.4. ἀνάγκη is used in the meaning of "necessity," a concept familiar in Greek philosophy since Plato.[11] In the LXX books translated from the Hebrew, it always means "distress."

Wis. 11.15. ἄλογα ζῷα is the technical term of Greek philosophy for "brute animals."[12] The expression never appears in the LXX, which uses the adjective ἄλογος only twice, namely, of Moses in Ex 6.12, and to mean "invalid" in Nm 6.12.

Wis 4.1; 5.13; 8.7. ἀρετή appears in all three cases as

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[11]See A. J. Festugière, Epicurus and his Gods, 91. For examples of this meaning see Plato, Timaeus 42a3; Letter of Aristeas, 104; Ps-Aristotle, De mundo 401b8.

[12]Texts from Stoic philosophers are found in C. J. de Vogel, Greek Philosophy 3. 96, 123, 257. The same terminology appears in the Pythagorean philosopher Diotogenes, 266.6.

"virtue," in the late hellenistic "moral sense popularized by Stoic philosophy."[13] In the LXX the noun means wonderful signs or deeds of valor.

Wis. 6.18. βεβαίωσις "surety," is a common hellenistic legal term, but the only LXX usage is in Lv 25.23, in the sense of "perpetuity."

Wis 7.1. γεγενής is used in the sense of "earthy," found in Plato, Timaeus 29e and Laws 272e, rather than in the LXX meaning of "indigenous."

Wis 15.11. ἐμπνεύσαντα is an adjective describing the "breathing" soul, but in the LXX the word is always a substantive, a "living creature."[14]

Wis 17.8. εὐλάβεια means "timidity," in contrast to the LXX "watchfulness," found in Jos 22.24; Prv 28.14. In Wis 12.11 the corresponding verb εὐλαβέομαι has the pejorative meaning "to be diffident," common in hellenistic writing but

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[13]See A. Pelletier, Flavius Josèphe, adaptateur de la Lettre d'Aristée (Paris, 1962) 264. (Abbreviated: Flavius).

[14]See R. Marcus, "Divine Names and Attributes in Hellenistic Jewish Literature," Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research 3 (1932) 70. (Abbreviated: "Divine Names"). Marcus compares this usage to Plato, Symposium 179. The verb form appears is Ps-Aristotle, De mundo 397a17.

never found in the LXX.[15]

Wis 1.10. ζήλωσις "jealousy" is used of God in a genitive of definition.[16] The LXX uses the term only in the obscure phrase πνεῦμα ζήλωσεως "feeling of jealousy" (Nm 5.14, 30) to describe a particular form of suspicion.

Wis 17.3. ἴνδαλμα "hallucination" is a noun that was used first by medical writers and then borrowed by philosophers. The only LXXuse is in Jer 27.39 (MT 50.39), as "idols."

κόσμος is found 16 times in Wis, always in the sense of "universe," the meaning coined by the Pre-Socratics. The LXX uses the word in its non-technical sense of "adornment."[17]

Wis 11.30. μετέρχομαι is used in the legal sense to describe justice as "pursuing" evildoers. This usage is as early as Plato, Protagoras 322a.[18]

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[15]Examples are found in Philodemus, Fr. 18, edited by A. Grillo, ParPass 12 (1957) 40-41, in Plutarch, and in Diodorus Siculus. See J. Palm, Über Sprache und Stil des Diodorus von Sizilien (Lund, 1955) 187. (Abbreviated: Sprache).

[16]See H. G. Meecham, The Letter of Aristeas, 98.

[17]See J. Freudenthal, "Are there Traces of Greek Philosophy in the Septuagint?" JQR 2 (1890) 205-222, on p. 217. The objection that the technical use of kosmos appears in Prv 17.6 appears invalid, because it is really not translating anything found in the Hebrew text.

[18]Cited by R. Marcus, "Divine Names," 90. Other examples are given in H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, 9th ed. by H. S. Jones (Oxford, 1940) 1120. (Abbreviated: L-S-J).

Wis 5.9. παρέρχομαι in the idiomatic sense of a message "passing by." The LXX employs only the participle as a substantive in speaking of the king's "runners."

Wis 14.5, 6. σχεδία is literally "raft," but its use to describe Noah's ark becomes intelligible to the reader who knows that Homer uses this word for the bark used by Odysseus to escape from the Calypso.[19] In the LXX the word appears in its prosaic meaning in 3 Kgs 5.23 (Latin 5.9) and 2 Chr 2.15.

Wis 17.5 ὑπομένω is here used in the classical Greek meaning of "withstand," in contrast to the LXX usage in the sense of "endure/ submit."

Wis 17.15 τέρας occurs in the classical meaning of "monster." The author also uses it in the LXX sense of "sign" in 8.8; 10.16; 19.8.[20]

In addition to the above examples, the Sage occasionally uses in parallel with biblical terminology a word or expression

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[19]See D. B. Macdonald, The Hebrew Philosophical Genius. A Vindication (Princeton, 1936) 97. He also points out Homeric influence on the use of κλύδων "waves" in Wis 14.5; 19.7.

[20]See G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 148. The order of the phrase is significant in Wis 10.16, τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα. This is the only reversal of the terms in the Old Testament.

never found in the Old Testament. For example:

	Old Testament term		Hellenistic term
Wis 3.11	κένος empty	and	ἀνόητος useless
Wis 3.13	ἐπισκοπή visitation	and 3.18	διάγνωσις decision
Wis 5.11	σημεῖον sign	and	τεκμήριον proof
Wis 6.3	δυναστεία sovereignty	and	κράτησις dominion
Wis 7.9	πηλός clay	and	ψάμμος sand
Wis 8.18	ζητέω seek	and	περίειμι go around
Wis 9.3	κρίσιν execute κρίνω judgment	and	διέπω τὸν κόσμον conduct the world
Wis. 18.11	δεσπότης ~ δοῦλος master--slave	and	βασιλεύς ~ δημότης king--common man

The above parallels indicate that the author made a deliberate effort to associate ideas from hellenistic culture with typically Jewish terms. The significance of this procedure in determining the persons for whom he was writing will be discussed in Chapter IV.

As stated above, however, principal evidence for the extent of hellenistic influence on Wis will be found in studying the words in this book that are not found in any other canonical book of the Old Testament for their links to hellenistic pagan writings. Only by first marshalling the information will it be possible to proceed in Chapter II to an examination of

the depth of the influence. For the sake of order the words are grouped under four headings, indicative of hellenistic influence on the Sage's: 1) religious vocabulary; 2) philosophical vocabulary; 3) ethical vocabulary, and 4) psychological vocabulary. Unless otherwise indicated, the examples used below are all from words that do not occur in any other canonical book of the Old Testament.

Religious Vocabulary

In describing divine Wisdom, the author uses the following four words common in hellenistic religious vocabulary:

Wis 6.12. ἀμάραντος "unfading," a term attested first in the inscriptions and papyri of the second century B.C., often in connection with immortality.[21]

Wis 7.26. ἀπαύγασμα. She is "radiance" of everlasting light. This is the first recorded use of the term extant, but its presence in Philo, in Heb 1.3, in hermetic literature, and in magic papyri shows that the Sage is employing the terminology

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[21]See L-S-J, 77. The word occurs in 1 Pt 1.4; see W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, 41. (Abbreviated: A-G).

of Egyptian religious practices. Hence, the active meaning of "radiance" is preferable to the passive "reflection," because divine Wisdom is praised for her active role in uniting men to God. Isis is pictured in a similar role in her aretalogy found at Cume. She praises herself in the phrase, "I am in the rays of the sun." (vs. 43).[22]

Wis 7.25. ἀπόρροια "emanation" of the Almighty's glory. This is an important term for Epicurus and other later hellenistic philosophers and gnostic writers. The same figure is used to describe the ideal ruler in the kingship tracts of Greek philosophers. They teach the king that his divine royalty should emanate from him to benefit his subjects.[23]

Wis 9.4 (see 6.4). πάρεδρος "throne-partner" was a common term in Greek religious literature. Plato holds that the highest

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[22]The text of this aretalogy is edited by A. Salač, "Hymne isiaque de Kume," BCH 51 (1927) 378-383, and by P. Roussel, "Un nouvel hymn à Isis," REG 42 (1929) 137-168. Ordinarily these hymns were carved on the base of a statue of the goddess, but Diodorus Siculus quotes the beginning of this aretalogy as having been taken from an ancient tomb of Isis (1.27). E. Osty notes that this is the only Old Testament text that calls God "light." In loco, Le Livre de la Sagesse (Paris, 1957) 59.

[23]L. Delatte, Les Traités de la Royauté d'Ecphante, Diotogène et Sthénidas (Liege, 1942) 195-198. (Abbrev: Traités).

part of man's soul is divine and has a paredros in heaven (Timaeus 90a2). Late magical texts show that pagans tried to obtain union with their throne-partner by magic.[24] Isis also bears this title in her aretalogy at Cume (verse 45).

The Sage also describes divine Wisdom as "passing down" μεταβαίνουσα (7.27) into devout souls through succeeding generations. The term he uses is the technical Pythagorean expression for the process of the transmigration of souls.[25] In so doing Wisdom makes "friends of God and prophets" (7.27). By designating just men as "friends of God," Wis calls them by a title common in pagan literature but never employed in the Old Testament.[26]

The author takes advantage of the method of forming feminine substantives from their masculine counterpart, a

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[24]F. Sbordone, "Iside Maga," Aegyptus 26 (1946) 131.

[25]See M. N. Tod, "Sidelights on Greek Philosophers," JHS 77 (1957) 132-141, on p. 133. The verb occurs in 2 Mc 6.1, 9, 24, but in the sense of being converted to a different way of life.

[26]See Erik Peterson, "Der Gottesfreund. Beiträge zur Geschichte eines religiösen Terminus," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 42 (1923) 161-202, on pp. 175-178. Philodemus says that Epicurus called wise men friends of the gods, and gods friends of wise men; De deorum victu; quoted in H. Usener, Epicurea Fg. 386, p. 285. G. Ziener discusses friendship with God in Begriffssprache 88–92 and 122; he concludes that Wis is using Greek terminology in parallel with the Old Testament concept of a covenant relationship with God. The title is not given to Abraham in the LXX, pace Jerusalem Bible on Gen 13.18.

practice popular with late hellenistic writers.[27] By this process he has added three new titles to divine Wisdom:

Wis 8.4a. μύστις "initiate" of the knowledge of God;

Wis 8.4b. ἐκλεκτής "selector" of his works;

Wis 7.22; 8.6; 14.2. τεχνῖτις "crafts-woman." This formation appears first in inscriptions from Delphi dating from the second century B.C.

The extensive treatment of pagan religious practices in Wis 13-15 reveals knowledge of terminology used in hellenistic cult. Idols are designated as ἀνώνυμα "unspeakable" (14.27), a word used by Euripides to describe the Furies.[28] They are ἄψυχα "lifeless" (13.17; 14.29); the historian Timaeus used this adjective as a term of reproach for statues of the gods.[29] It is true that the Old Testament contains attacks of pagan

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[27]On the formation of this type of feminine substantive in late Greek, see L. R. Palmer, A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri (London: Oxford, 1946) I. 92.

[28]See L-S-J, 170; the word is in use from Homer.

[29]See L-S-J, 299. Philodemus uses this adjective frequently. Polemic against idols is frequent in pagan philosophy.

idols, but Wis adopts a different vocabulary for this.[30] He designates idols by the Platonic term ἀπεικάσματα "representations,"[31] as well as by the contemporary pagan designation of σέβασμα "object of worship" (14.20; 15.17), a noun that is recorded first during the first century B.C.[32]

In inveighing against idols, the author decries the seductive attraction produced by their εὐχάρις "charm" (14.20), a designation of the beauty of Aphrodite by Euripides. This approach reflects hellenistic influence, because Jewish writers never based their polemics against idols on the beauty of their appearance.[33]

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[30]See P. W. Skehan, "Borrowings from the Psalms in the Book of Wisdom," CBQ 10 (1948) 384-397, on p. 391. (Abbreviated: "Borrowings"). This article remarks that the author of Wis "Exercices deliberate choice in the substitution of synonyms and in adding precision to the thought," p. 392. In commenting on the adaptation of Ps 113.12-15 LXX in Wis 15.15, it suggests that the Sage may have been influenced in his omissions by the mechanical manipulations of Egyptian idols.

[31]Wis 13.10. See Plato, Crat 402d. Wis 13.13 uses the corresponding verb ἀπεικάζω "represent" to describe the making of idols of human beings. That terminology appears in the kingship literature to describe the ideal king, who was to "represent" himself as far as possible according to the divine creatures of the universe. See L. Delatte, Traités, 29, quoting Ecphantus 244.1.

[32]The first record of the word is in Dionysius Halicarnasus. The masculine form σεβασμός found in the Letter of Aristeas and in Philodemus, is also a late formation.

[33]See I. Heinemann, Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung (Breslau, 1932) 442-443. He notes as a parallel the statement of Cicero about idols, "ipsa suavitate nocuerunt."

The Sage knows that the pagans begged from their idols both ἐνδεάνεια "vigor" (13.19), a rare term associated with Artemis,[34] and ἐπικουρία "aid" (13.18). At this time pagan gods were described as ἐπίκουροι "giving aid."[35] Their worship is described by the verbs ἐπιβοάω "invoke" (14.1) and θρησκεύω "worship" (11.15; 14.16). His use of the noun θρησκεία "cult" (14.8) is the first witness to this technical religious term since Herodotus. Many opportunities existed for the use of the word, and yet it never appears in Greek literature from the time of Herodotus until its use in inscriptions of the Roman period. The appearance of the term in Wis, then, is significant; it provides weighty evidence for dating the book at the beginning of the Roman period in Egypt.[36]

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[34]Cited in L-S-J, addenda, 2073.

[35]See Pausanius, 8.41.7.

[36]See the remarks on this word in A. Pelletier, Flavius, 32-33. Study of the word was made by L. Robert; see references in J. and L. Robert, REG 74 (1961) 147.

Just as he described Solomon's wisdom in terms of hellenistic encyclopedic learning (7.17-20), so also Wis uses terminology from Greek mystery cults to denounce the ancient Canaanites as μύσται "initiates" (12.5), and their worship as a σπλαγχνοφάγος θοίνα "sacrificial dining" upon human flesh (12.5). The sentence is difficult and left incomplete in the CCD translation, which is based on the text of H. B. Swete.[37] However, the division and analysis of J. Fichtner provide a satisfactory meaning.[38] And more recently, D. Gill's recognition that the inspired author is simply borrowing the religious vocabulary found in Greek tragedy clarifies what P. W. Skehan recognized as a serious and obscure problem, namely, "Wisdom's charge of cannibalism among the Canaanites."[39] The Bible never accuses

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[37] See note in The Holy Bible. III: The Sapiential Books (Paterson, 1955) 690. Difficulties are studied by P. W. Skehan, "The Text and Structure of the Book of Wisdom," Traditio 3 (1945) 11-12.

[38] J. Fichtner, Weisheit Salomos, 46. Fichtner shows that the abstract noun θοίνα in parallel with three concrete nouns, must be rendered as "diners," a use in keeping with classical Greek style.

[39] P. W. Skehan, "Borrowings," CBQ 10 (1948) 391. Comparison of language appears in D. Gill, "The Greek Sources of Wisdom 12.3-7," VT 15 (1965) 383-386.

the Canaanites of this charge, and archeology offers no evidence for it. Greek writers, however, used the charge of cannibalism in attacking the ancient myths. With irony the Sage adopts their terminology to attack Jews participating in hellenistic cults.[40] One of the glorious deeds for which Isis praises herself in the aretalogy from the second century B.C. is to have put an end to cannibalism and murder.[41] The author of Wis then shows his acquaintance with the terminology of pagan religious writing. He does not hesitate to employ theories popularized by Euhemerus to explain the origin of the cult of deified men (14.15).

A striking example of the use of pagan religious terminology even when it differed from traditional Jewish science is found in the description of the birth of Ps-Solomon; it took a δεκαμηνιαῖος period, "ten-month" (7.2). This particular hellenistic compound appears first in the Isis aretalogy; one of the glories of the goddess is to bring into the light the

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[40] D. Gill, ibid., p. 386.

[41] Isis aretalogy from Cyme vss. 16-20.

δεκαμηνιαῖον βρέφος "foetus of ten-months."[42] For Jewish writers the period of pregnancy was always viewed as nine months, in contrast to the Greek and Roman count of ten.[43]

Another borrowing from pagan religious terminology is the designation of the wicked as νόθοι "illegitimate" (4.3), a term used both for a class of pagan temple attendants and also as technical designation for those who have no right to inherit the paternal goods.[44] In contrast to the embarrassment experienced by sinners (5.14), the virtuous but childless believer is pictured as taking part in an eternal procession, στεφανηφοροῦσα "bearing a wreath" (4.2). This too was a technical term for a group of magistrates in hellenistic times, but was employed in the mystery cults.[45]

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[42] Ibid., vs. 19. Note that L-S-J does not list this reference. The next extant use of the term is found in Plutarch, Numa 12. It is a characteristicly hellenistic formation.

[43] See 2 Mc 7.27; the Talmud speaks only of a nine-month period according to J. Reider, The Book of Wisdom, 108. Classical references for 10 months are given by R. Cornely, in loco, and for the Hittites by E. A. Speiser, JBL 82 (1963) 303.

[44] See L-S-J, 1187, and C. Spicq, L'Epître aux Hébreux 2. 393-394, commenting on Heb 12.8, where the word appears.

[45] See J. and L. Robert, REG 70 (1957) 195; 73 (1960) 361-375. L-S-J, 1642, singles out this metaphorical usage.

In his description of the activity of God toward his worshipers, Wis mirrors the vocabulary of the religiously orientated speculation on kingship. Kingship tracts were the work of court philosophers for the tyrants who succeeded Alexander the Great. These philosophers acted as propaganda agents; their role was to make the newly founded monarchies acceptable to the people. They extolled the king as being in some way a divine being, insofar as kingly virtues are "qualities of God: goodness, mercy, justice, humanity."[46] Although most of these tracts on kingship are lost, the banquet scene in the Letter of Aristeas provides information about the contents of this literature.[47] The terminology employed is that of late eclectic hellenistic

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[46]L. Delatte, Traités, 141. He gives a history of the kingship tracts and a summary of the literature on pp. 123-163. Philosophers of all schools used this literary genre, but it was especially preferred by Stoics; ibid., p. 140.

[47]See G. Zuntz, "Aristeas Studies I: The 'Seven Banquets'," JSS 4 (1959) 21-36, for a suggestion of what Aristeas borrowed. Before him, W. W. Tarn in "The Milindapanha and Ps-Aristeas," an excursus to The Greeks in Bactria and India, 414-436, held that the letter was based on a document from the third century B.C. Oswyn Murray, "Aristeas and Ptolemaic Kingship," JTS n.s. 18 (1967-68) 337-371 argues that Aristeas was widely read in kingship literature but constructed his own story.

philosophy, and it is written in what A. J. Festugière styled "spiritual koine," whose "Characteristic was to make theology predominate over philosophy."[48] The influence of kingship literature upon the Book of Wisdom can be seen from the following examples.

The Sage pictures God as "Administering" all things, διέπω (12.15), the word used in Ps-Aristotle, De mundo 399a18, to describe the way that the divinity controls the universe.[49] The word itself was an ancient poetical one, which disappeared from usage until it was revived in hellenistic times. Late prose writers used it to describe both the divine control over the orderly cosmos and the role of the king as imitator of God in his orderly control of his reign. This imitation of God theme underlies the statement of Wis 9.2-3 that God fashioned man "to administer the universe" in an upright way. Wis also uses the technical term διοικέω, "manage" (12.18; 15.1), to designate the divine manner of ruling creation. In Stoic

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[48]A. J. Festugière, La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste 2. 478. (Abbreviated: RHT).

[49]For the history of this term see A. Pelletier, Flavius, 30. It is also found in Ecphantus 247. 6, 11; 275. 8.

philosophy this had become the technical way to describe the divine rule of the universe.[50]

Wis 14.3 and 17.2 also uses the noun πρόνοια in the technical sense of "providence." Along with the corresponding verb προνοέω, found in Wis 6.7, it had become a "Stoic commonplace" in this sense.[51] He also uses the poetic figure of God "acting as pilot" διακυβερνάω (14.3) to describe his providence. This figure appears in the Hymn to Zeus by the Stoic mystic Cleanthes (vs. 35). Another Stoic term describes how providence functions, namely, ἀκοπιάτως "without effort" (16.20).[52] Yet, when forced to intervene against sinful men, God shows himself as ἀπότομος "inflexible," an adjective used five times by the Sage (5.20; 6.5; 11.10; 12.9; 18.15). This is the way that Euripides described the intervention of

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[50]See A. Pelletier, Flavius, 70 and 264. In Wis 8.1 divine Wisdom "manages" everything.

[51]A. Pelletier, ibid., 264. H. Bell shows that this word had the sense of "providence" in popular Egyptian religious writing of the time, "Popular Religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt," JEA 34 (1948) 82-97, on p. 90.

[52]SVF 1.125, and Ps-Aristotle, De mundo 391a. This adverb is also found in Philodemus, On Piety 15.

Fate (Alc. 118), and Sophocles that of Necessity (O.R. 877).[53]

As part of his effort to show that the Lord is φιλόψυχος "lover of life" (11.26), the Sage insists that man's great enemy, death, was not the work of the Creator, but entered the world "by the envy of the devil" (2.24). In interpreting Gen 3, he apparently wishes to introduce the motif of the envy of the gods, so common in Greek religious literature.[54]

Finally, the names of God used in Wis show evidence of hellenistic religious influence. In an effort to encourage study of LXX vocabulary, R. Marcus collected the divine names and attributes found in Jewish hellenistic literature.[55] He found 130 titles or designations that reflect hellenistic influence, and of these 50 appear in Wis. Along with the technical use of the term "providence," Marcus singles out as worthy of note the following four terms:

ἐνέργεια in the sense of God's marvelous "activity" (7.26; 13.4). The first example of this usage is in the Letter of

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[53]These parallels are moted by R. Marcus, "Divine Names," 55. This adjective occurs in the treatise on kingship of Diotogenes, 269.8. The adverb appears in Wis 5.22.

[54]See B. D. Macdonald, The Hebrew Philosophical Genius, 105. This motif does not fit the Satan of the Divine court.

[55]R. Marcus, "Divine Names," PAAJR 3 (1931-32) 43-120.

Aristeas, 226; it occurs also in 2 Mc 3.29, Eph 1.19, and in Hermetic writings.

παντοδύναμος "all-powerful" (7.23; 11.17; 18.15), a typical late formation which is recorded for the first time in the Book of Wisdom. It appears in Plotinus.

ὑπέρμαχος "defender" (10.20; 16.17). This hellenistic title is extant first in a second century B.C. inscription, and is used by Cornutus of Athens in the first century A.D. It designates God in 2 Mc 8.36; 14.34.

φιλάνθρωπος "humane" or "benign," but with a wide range of meaning according to the context. It is attributed to Wisdom in 1.6 and 7.23, and to the just man in 12.19. As a quality of divine Wisdom, R. Marcus compares it to Plato's designating Eros by it (Sym 189c-d). It was a quality expected of the ideal king, and 2 Mc 4.11 applies it to the laws of Anctiochus III. F. Focke considers this term as the Sage's answer to the charge that Jews were ἀνάνθρωποι "unsocial."[56]

Two other words are worthy of note as examples of the author's familiarity with contemporary religious terminology:

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[56] F. Focke, Die Entstehung der Weisheit Salomos (Göttingen, 1913) 68-70. (Abbreviated: Entstehung).

Wis 18.9. θειότης "divinity," a word probably coined by Epicurus.[57] It occurs in the Letter of Aristeas, 95, in Philodemus, and in the tract of Ecphantus on kingship.

Wis 16.6. νουθεσία "admonition." The Sages uses for this form of divine warning an Ionian word, popular only in late Greek, including Cornutus.[58]

Philosophical Vocabulary

Influence of Greek philosophy upon the vocabulary of the Book of Wisdom has long been recognized.[59] The next chapter will treat the depth of this influence as reflected in the carefully reasoned passage on the worship of nature (13.1-9), and in the author's treatment of incorruption. This section,

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[57] See A. J. Festugière, Epicurus and his Gods, 70.

[58] R. Marcus, "Divine Names," 93. The corresponding verb, which never designates divine warnings in the LXX, appears of God's activity in Wis 11.10; 12.2, 26.

[59] See Paul Menzel, De Graecis in libris Koheleth et vestigiis (Hall, 1888). In this dissertation Menzel collects 135 passages in Wis where parallels with Greek philosophy have been suggested, pp. 41-51, and then discusses them briefly, pp. 52-70. His chief source is the commentary of Grimm. M. Friedländer devotes a chapter to Wis in Griechische Philosophie im Alten Testament (Berlin, 1904) 182-208. The longest treatment, with a historical introduction to the question is Paul Heinisch, Die griechische Philosophie im Buche der Weisheit (Münster i. W., 1908), containing 158 pp. I. Heinemann devotes one chapter of his study on Posidonius to Greek sources of Wis. It is printed also as "Die griechische Quelle der 'Weisheit Salomos'," Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars for 1920 (Breslau, 1921) 136-156.

therefore, will serve as preparation by indicating the segments of Greek philosophy from which Wis borrowed its terminology. In general, more significant parallels in vocabulary and meaning are to be found with the writings of hellenistic philosophers than with those of the classical period, because the Sage was not an abstract scholar. He adopts terms popular with his contemporaries. He does not seek to return to pure Attic thought or expression, as Josephus apparently did. Although many of his philosophical concepts take their inspiration from Plato, they have been expanded and modified, enriched or impoverished by later popularizers. The same principle holds for Wis as G. Gerleman stated for determining influences of Greek philosophy upon the LXX, namely, to look toward the "great post-Aristotelian schools, especially Stoicism with its strong religious feeling and interest in morals."[60]

Under this religious direction, Greek philosophical terms often acquired religious overtones during the hellenistic period. Eclectic popularizers adopted what A. H. Chroust calls

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[60]G. Gerleman, Studies in the Septuagint, III: Proverbs (Lund, 1956) 53.

a "religious-metaphysical" point of view, and philosophy emerged as "a religious doctrine and message of salvation and redemption."[61] Such a practical approach suited the purpose of the author of Wis. A striking example of hellenistic philosophical vocabulary is found in the long list of qualities that he attributes to the spirit of divine Wisdom (7.22-24). He begins and ends on two of the terms found in the definition of God formulated by the Stoic Posidonius, who called God πνεῦμα νοερὸν διῆκον δι' ἅπάσης οὐσίας "an intellectual spirit that pervades all being."[62] As the first of the 21 qualities of the spirit of Wisdom, the Sage lists νοερόν "intellectual" (7.22), and he concludes his description by saying that Wisdom διήκει δὲ καὶ χωρεῖ διὰ πάντων "pervades and spreads through everything." (7.24). The second verb used here, χωρέω, is also a Stoic technical term found in parallel with διήκω in the collection of philosophical sayings attributed to Plutarch.[63] The

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[61] A. H. Chroust, "Philosophy in the Hellenistic-Roman World," Thomist 17 (1954) 196-253, on p. 236.

[62] See L. Edelstein, "The Philosophical System of Posidonius," AmJP 57 (1936) 286-325, on p. 291.

[63] Placita Philosophorum 1.8.17, cited by C. L. W. Grimm, Das Buch der Weisheit (Leipzig, 1860) 159. (Abbreviated: Grimm). The verb χωρέω is common in Greek literature from Homer. It occurs in the LXX nine times, but always in the sense of "contain."

term διήκω is used in speaking of divine power in Ps-Aristotle, De mundo,[64] and is frequent in Philodemus.

Other attributes of the spirit of Wisdom in this list that come from hellenistic philosophical language are the following five terms never found elsewhere in the Old Testament:

ἀκώλυτος "unhindered," a term recorded first in Plato. It is used to describe divine activity in Ps-Aristotle, De mundo, 410b10.

εὐεργέτικος "beneficent." This is one of the qualities of virtue according to Aristotle, Rhetorica, 1366a38. Later it appears as a mark of the ideal king.[65]

εὐκίνητος "agile," is used by Aristotle, Categoriae, 13a27, to describe an inclination toward virtue. Philodemus applies it to the soul, On Death, 8.14.[66]

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[64]Ps-Aristotle, De mundo 396b29; 398b7-8; 394b1. For the literature on this tract with a translation and commentary, see A. J. Festugière, RHT 2. 460-518.

[65]See Diotogenes, 270.5; Diodorus Siculus, 19.86.3. The Sage uses related forms of this word, which were common in hellenistic literature, especially to describe the Ptolemaic kings. See Wis 3.5; 11.5, 13; 16,2, 11, 24; 19.14.

[66]Wis 7.24 uses κινητικώτερον "more mobile" to describe divine Wisdom. This adjective is used in the sense of an inclination to virtue in the Stoic Aristo, 1.88, and in a psychological sense in Philodemus, De musica, p. 71 (Kemke). See L-S-J, 953.

πολυμερής "manifold," describes the soul in Aristotle, De anima 411b11. It also occurs in the moral writings of Plutarch.[67]

φιλάγαθος "loving good." Aristotle listed this as the virtue opposed to the vice of "self-love," Magna Moralis 1212b18. Later it served as an epithet for members of hellenistic religious associations, and appears in honorary inscriptions as a title.[68] The letter of Aristeas, 124 and 292, gives it as a mark of a good king.

In describing the just man's experience with divine Wisdom, the Sage employs three metaphors found in hellenistic philosophical literature:

Wis 8.18: συγγυμνασία "joint exercise." This was the term used to describe the teacher-student relationship, first in the Stoic tradition and later in general educational circles.[69]

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[67]The adverb occurs in Heb 1.1; see A-G, p. 693.

[68]See A. J. Festugière, RHT 2. 305, and L-S-J, p. 1930. It is listed as a quality of a bishop by Paul in Ti 1.8.

[69]The term is used to describe the relationship between Zeno and Cleanthes; see A. J. Festugière, RHT 2.311. Hellenistic civilization centered around the gymnasium. In Alexandria matriculation in one of these was the normal requisite for citizenship according to V. Tcherikover, Corpus Papyrorum Judaicorum 1.40. (Abbreviated: CPJ).

Wis 8.17: συγγένεια "relationship" in the spiritual sense. This metaphor, which had a long history and development in Greek philosophical speculation, began with the astral mysticism of Plato. He found a basis for contemplation in the soul's metaphysical relationship to the divine heavens in Timaeus 90a. "From metaphysics this doctrine passed to theosophy," affirms L. Delatte, and the "relationship" of the royal personage to the divine enabled the king to receive divine illumination. By this power he was able to represent God for his people.[70] Against the background of this speculation the Sage's assertion that "relationship with divine Wisdom" is the foundation of immortality becomes clear (8.17; see 4.1; 8.13; 15.3). Immortal life is the enjoyment of the ἀϊδιότης "eternity" of God (2.23), in whose image man was created.[71]

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[70]L. Delatte, Traités, 206. Plato speaks of this "relationship" also in Rep 611e. The concept in paganism is treated by A. J. Festugière, L'idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Evangile (2nd ed., Paris, 1932) 48 and 81. For the Christian use of the theme see E. des Places, "La syngeneia chrétienne," Bib 44 (1963) 304-322. He studies the history of the concept in Syngenia. La parenté de l'homme avec Dieu (Paris: Klincksieck, 1964).

[71]The two abstract nouns used in Greek philosophy, "immortality" and "eternity," do not appear in the LXX, nor does the adjective ἀΐδιος "eternal" (Wis 7.26), which is frequent in Philodemus. The LXX uses the term "relationship" only in the sense of a natural, physical relationship.

Wis 8.16: συναναστροφή "intercourse," a late hellenistic double compound noun, recorded first in the writings of Epicurus and popular with Philodemus, an Epicurean philosopher of the first century B.C.[72]

Hellenistic philosophical traditions also offer the best explanation for the two metaphors with which the Sage opens his long development on the wise man's union with divine Wisdom (8.2-18). He is ἐραστής "enamored" of her as with a "bride" (8.2). The imagery of sexual love appears in the Wisdom hymns of the Old Testament, but the Sage prefers to use terms with deep roots in pagan literature. These two nouns are never found in this metaphorical sense in the LXX.[73] Plato spoke of the philosopher as one "enamored" of discourse (Phrd 228c) or of knowledge (Tim 46d). The famous choice of Heracles, attributed to the pre-Socratic Proticus by Xenophon, personifies the virtuous life as a beautiful maiden who invites him

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[72]See L-S-J, 1695 and Philodemus, On the Gods, fragment 78.13. The noun is found in its philosophical sense in 3 Mc 2.31, 33; 3.5.

[73]R. Cornely points out that in the LXX the word ἐραστής, which appears only in the prophets and Lam, always has a pejorative sense, and is often applied to those who worship idols; in loco, 304. In the LXX the word νύμφη frequently means daughter-in-law. D. B. Macdonald sees the use of this word as a deliberate allusion to Greek nymphs, minor goddesses who communicated with men and at times married them, in Hebrew Philosophical Genius, 119-120. However, nothing in the context supports this opinion. On the contrary, the Sage simply uses the term "bride" as it appeared in Greek philosophy.

to choose her.[74] Paul Heinisch demonstrated that many of the gifts offered by Virtue to Heracles are those that Wisdom gives in this passage.[75] However, his arguments for direct literary dependence of Wis on Xenophon are not conclusive, because the metaphors used are too commonplace in later Greek philosophical tracts to prove that the Sage was copying from this one passage. In fact, in his commentary on Wis, P. Heinisch reversed his opinion and rejected the assumption that the author of Wis knew the "myth" of the choice of Heracles.[76] Both extremes supported successively by Heinisch are to be rejected. The Sage knows the classical sources, but adapts and combines allusions, just as he does in using passages from the Old Testament.

An example of this adaptation is his presentation of "justice" as possession of the four cardinal virtues. This idea is Platonic but was popularized by the Stoic Chrysippus

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[74] Xenophon, Memorabilia 2.1.21, 32-33.

[75] P. Heinisch, Philosophie 32-35; noted in Grimm, 175.

[76] P. Heinisch, Das Buch der Weisheit, 168-169.

(281-206 B.C.).[77] Although his terminology comes from the Stoics, the Sage clearly separates himself from their "morality of effort," in which "what counts is effort alone."[78] He insists that these virtues are not primarily the personal achievements of the believer but rather the gift of the πόνοι "efforts/pains" of divine Wisdom (8.7). In the context, this term is best explained as what the labor pains of Wisdom produce, the fruit of her womb. In other words, she presents these virtues to the upright man who has wooed and won her as his bride (8.2).

The author of Wis also shows himself familiar with the technical language of Greek natural philosophy as it was fostered by the Peripatetic tradition by his use of the following four terms:

Wis 15.11. πνεῦμα ζωτικόν "life-giving breath." In keeping with the biblical teaching that all human life is communicated by God the Creator (Gn 2.7), the Sage attributes all human life

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[77]See Von Arnim, SVF 3.60.15; 3.61.32; Wis 8.7.

[78]A. J. Festugière, RHT 2. 300-301, treats this Stoic morality of "effort." The term is common in the tracts on kingship. It is also a favorite with the author of Wis, who uses it nine times.

to the Lord alone. Yet, in expressing this truth he replaces the LXX phrase πνοὴ ζωῆς, "breath of life," a rather literal translation of the Hebrew נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים with the technical term of Alexandrian physicians, first recorded in the fragments of Erasistratus.[79]

Wis 16.6. σύμβολον "token." Aristotle called words the "token" of things in De sensu 437a15, and Greek philosophy continued to show an interest in the relationship between external objects and thought.[80] A similar preoccupation is reflected in this passage from Wis. The Sage is drawing a lesson from the bronze serpent set up by Moses (Nm 21.4-9). He says that it is not able to save of itself, and yet as a link with

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[79]Von Arnim, SVF 2.241. See Gerard Verbeke, L'evolution de la doctrine du pneuma du Stoicisme à S. Augustin (Louvain, 1945) 177-199 and 225. This expression is never recorded for any Stoic philosopher before Wis. The reference in SVF is actually to a comment of Galen on De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis. On this point, the entry in L-S-J, p. 763, with its citation of Wis, offers the translation "fit for maintaining life," but Verbeke explains that the whole expression must be taken as a unit; for this reason he prefers the translation "breath of life."

[80]See the comment of L. M. Dewailly, "Course et gloire de la Parole," RB 71 (1964) 25-41, on p. 29, that the philosophical problem of the correspondence between objects and thought "haunted" the ancient Greek philosophers.

God's "word that heals all" (Wis 16.12), the serpent becomes a "token of salvation" (16.6).[81] The Sage's distinction between what the men saw with their eyes and the saving power of the divine word is a philosophical reflection on the biblical account. The word chosen to describe how the mercy of God accomplishes the healing is a late double compound verb that appears first in the Stoic Chrysippus, ἀντιπαρέρχομαι "penetrate" (16.10).[82] This was God's way of giving a νουθεσία "admonition" (16.6) to his chosen people. The Sage seems to present him as fulfilling the role of the leader of an Epicurean circle, whose role was to educate the members to wisdom by his skillful use of admonitions.[83]

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[81]The same phrase appears in Demosthenes 15.4, in the meaning of "guarantee of safety." The word σύμβολον, which appears also in Wis 2.9, occurs in the LXX only as a variant in an obscure passage in Hos 4.12, where the Hebrew reads "stick" in the sense of an idol.

[82]Von Arnim, SVF 2.248. The meaning of "come up and help," given for this passage in Wis by L-S-J, p. 160, fails to grasp the author's mode of reasoning. He is explaining the efficacy of the divine word, hidden to the eyes but operative through this "token." Wis's intention is further manifest in his addition of another figure taken from Peripatetic philosophy, the image of ἐγκεντρίζω "goading" (16.11), in the psychological sense of pricking a man's conscience so that he will accept salvation.

[83]See Norman W. DeWitt, "Organization and Procedure in Epicurean Groups," Classical Philology 31 (1936) 205-211. Wis uses the corresponding verb in 11.10; 12.2, 26 of God's acts.

Wis 7.17. σύστασις in the technical sense of the "constitution" of physical nature. This concept can be traced back to Plato, Timaeus 32c, and continues to appear in Greek scientific writing throughout the hellenistic period.[84]

Wis 13.1. φύσις "nature," an important philosophical term to denote existing natures. Here the Sage applies it to men, but he also uses it of animals (7.20) and of water (19.20). In addition he employs two compounds based on this word, namely, ἔμφυτος "inborn" (12.10) in speaking of the deep rooted malice of the Canaanites, and συμφύω "grow together with" (13.13) in describing the wood from which an idol is made.

These examples, therefore, make it clear that philosophical terminology is frequent in Wis. Georg Ziener is correct insofar as he sees it as an attempt to express revealed concepts about God and his relation to men in more accurate terminology.[85]

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[84]For examples of this meaning see Diodorus Siculus 2.52.2; Philodemus, On Death 37.30; On Inference 19.21; Timaeus Locrus 99d; Ps-Aristotle, De mundo 394a24. The word appears in the LXX, but with the meaning of "meeting," in Gen 49.6.

[85]G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 39 and 142, treats this characteristic of Wis. He also cites as an example God's exercising justice "with precision" ἀκριβεία (p. 66), a comparison found in Plato, Laws 809c. See A. J. Festugière, RHT 2.522.

But the question of how profoundly hellenistic philosophy influenced the Sage must be faced in greater detail. This will be done in Chapter II.

Ethical Vocabulary

The biblical author has also made ample use of terminology found in pagan Greek ethical writers in his work. In so doing he has enriched scriptural tradition with the fruit of the investigations of hellenistic philosophers into both virtuous and evil conduct. This section will treat first the virtues and then the vices.

The Sage pictures the virtuous man as resisting persecution of the wicked by means of his ἀνεξικακία "longsuffering" (2.19), a late compound recorded first in this text of Wis and then in Plutarch, Moralia 2.90e.[86] In the part of the book where he assumes the role of King Solomon, he offers himself as model and guide for all who wish to receive divine Wisdom, because he has learned of her ἀδόλως and communicates her

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[86]L-S-J fails to note this use in Wis. The corresponding adjective is also late; it appears in 2 Tim 2.24 and in astrological texts. See references in A-G, p. 64.

ἀφθόνως "without stint" (7.13). The first quality, "without deceit," is to be understood in the active sense, that is, he has studied with good will and unselfish motives. This term is the hellenistic equivalent to the biblical "simplicity of heart," to which the Sage exhorted his readers in the opening verse of his book. In that opening plea he was alluding to the prayer of David in 1 Chr 29.17.[87] The adverb ἀδόλως is frequent in Greek inscriptions and papyri from the third century B.C. His manner of sharing Wisdom, that is, "without stint," is a moral attitude praised by Greek writers from the time of Pindar, and it remained an ideal for the hellenistic philosopher. An extant stele from about 200 B.C. records the decree conferring citizenship of Samia upon an otherwise unknown philosopher, Epicrates of Heraclea, because he "communicated without stint."[88]

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[87]The dependence of the opening exhortation of Wis on 1 Chr 29.17 is seen also in the phrase ἀγαπήσατε δικαιοσύνην "love uprightness," which imitates David's praise of Yahweh that he loves uprightness. The noun "simplicity" occurs in the canonical books of the LXX only six times, but it is more frequent in the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. J. Fichtner holds that the author of Wis depended upon early translations of the Bible other than the LXX in "Der AT-Text der Sapientia Salomonis," ZAW 57 (1939) 155-192, on pp. 187, 192.

[88]μεταδιδοὺς ἀφθόνως, the same verb and adverb as Wis; quoted in M. N. Tod, "Sidelights on Greek Philosophers," JHS 77 (1957) 135. The same phrase occurs in the comic poet Philemo (Kock, CAF 11; fg. 154). A. J. Festugière traces this moral attitude back to Plato; see RHT 2. 461.

The fact that Wis expresses these two qualities by adverbs of manner is noteworthy, because this usage is a characteristic feature of late hellenistic prose; it replaces the adjectival construction of earlier Greek.[89] The Book of Wisdom has 21 of these adverbs of manner that are never found elsewhere in the canonical books of the Old Testament. And they extend throughout the work, from ἀντοσχεδίως "in an offhanded way" (2.2), an expression going back to Homer, to ἀπεχθῶς "hatefully" (19.15), a word found often in Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[90]

In his comments on virtuous or evil conduct the Sage does not treat expressly the interaction of intellect and will in moral conduct. He does not pose the question whether knowledge precedes good will or good will assures a correct understanding in man. At times he seems to imply that virtue flows

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[89] See J. Palm, Sprache, 123-129.

[90] Other adverbs of manner reflecting hellenistic influence include: ἀκοπιάτως "without effort" (16.20; see p. 23); ἀποτόμως "relentlessly," (5.22), common in late Greek, e.g., Philodemus, Fg. 28.24; εὐμενῶς "well-disposed" (6.16), a term used of gods and kings; see A. J. Festugière, RSR 39 (1951) 34; σωφρόνως "moderately" (9.11), a common philosophical term; see Philodemus, Rhet 1. 374. 9.

from knowledge, as in 6.1, 9, 25; 15.3.[91] Yet, more often he states that wisdom depends on man's good will, at least to the extent of acknowledging his need of divine help for good conduct; see 1.4; 6.10, 17-20; 7.7, 28; 8.7; 9.17-18. Continued good will is required on man's part to remain upright, because "the bewitching of cheapness obscures nobility" (τὰ καλά 4.12).[92] Pythagoras also warns good men of the need of vigilance in his saying that he would rather be dead than to have his soul obscured by a lack of control over himself.[93]

The Sage describes the power that the sinner's ill-will exercises over him when he says that it drives him to choose things that bring bitterness to his συνείδησις, that is, his

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[91]See also the converse, that vice obscures a man's understanding in Wis 14.12-20; 15.11; 16.16.

[92]This apparently pessimistic text is alluding to the "translation" of Enoch to protect him from sin. R. Cornely, in loco, p. 159, quotes St. Augustine's comment that Wis is simply talking about the perils of life, not commenting upon divine foreknowledge.

[93]Cited by Grimm, in loco, p. 104. The verb "obscure" appears in three other places in the Greek Old Testament, but never in this figurative sense.

"conscience" or moral judgment.[94] The term "conscience" was common among ethical writers of the first century B.C., although it had not yet become a philosophical technical term.[95]

For the Sage moral life is subordinate to a religious goal, man's final destiny in the divine plan. God invites sinners in his mercy to μετάνοια "repentance" (11.23; 12. 10, 19). These are the first instances in the Bible where the word appears in the sense of a moral attitude. In Prv 14.15 the word denotes simple intellectual regret, and in Sir 44.16 it translates the Hebrew נוּשׁ "learn." The word indicates a purely intellectual change in classical Greek. The first clear use to indicate a change of heart or religious attitude is in the

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[94]Wis 17.11; Grimm holds that this obscure vs. is corrupt.

[95]See H. Osborne, ΣΥΝΕΙΔΗΣΙΣ, JTS 32 (1931) 167-179, for the history of this term. Its primary meaning was "self-consciousness, not as an abstract faculty but as introspective awareness" (p. 171). To the literature on the word listed in A-G, 794, add the study of E. des Places, Bib 30 (1949) 501-509; J. Stelzenberger, Syneidesis, conscientia, Gewissen (Paderborn, 1963); M. Coune, "Le problème des Idolothytes et l'education de la Syneidêsis," RSR 51 (1963) 497-534. The word occurs in the LXX only in Eccl 10.20, but in the meaning of "thoughts," with no moral connotation.

Letter of Aristeas, 188.[96]

The author of Wis does not overlook man's need for intellectual virtues, which are also gifts of divine Wisdom. In giving Ps-Solomon a knowledge that is ἀψευδής "true" (7.17), she assured him of all the qualities he needed to act as a good ruler (7.15-22a). He abandons the biblical term for "true" ἀληθής, which he has used in five other places, in favor of the adjective commonly used to describe responses of pagan oracles as early as Hesiod.[97] The wise man is he who προκρίνω "prefers" Wisdom to every material advantage (7.8). This is the idiomatic expression found in hellenistic and hermetic writings.[98]

In his terminology for reproving moral evil, the Sage reflects the Greek insistence on the intellectual aspect of

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[96]See H. G. Meecham, The Letter of Aristeas, 70.

[97]L-S-J, p. 128, with additional references from papyri in A-G, p. 128. This is the only use in the OT, but Paul uses the adjective of Christ and of the Father.

[98]See A-G., 715. Diodorus Siculus, 17.113.4, uses the term of Alexander the Great.

moral conduct when he calls sinners παράφρονες "senseless" (5.20), a word used with moral connotation from Plato, Laws 649d, to Plutarch, Pomp. 72. In its use of the word κακία "evil," the LXX makes no distinction between the physical and the moral, and it uses the term in both singular and plural. Wis, on the other hand, follows the classical usage in confining this term to the abstract singular to denote the interior source of moral evil, "malice."[99]

Like contemporary authors of popular ethical tracts, especially among the Stoics, the author of Wis presents his list of vices (14.25-26). The mere presence of such a list does not automatically prove hellenistic influence, but the terminology conforms to that used in pagan moral writings and shows striking similarities to the vocabulary of the Epicurean Philodemus.[100]

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[99]See H. G. Meecham, The Letter of Aristeas, 62, for the classical usage, which is found in Wis 2.21; 4.11; 5.13; 7.30; 12.2, 10, 20; 16.14. This became the technical term for "vice" in the first century B.C., and Philodemus wrote a tract περὶ κακιῶν On Vices. Contrast the usage of Paul, who lists "evil" along with other sins in Rom 1.29; Col 2.8; Ti 3.3.

[100]See Siegfried Wibbing, Die Tugend-und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament und ihre Traditionsgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Qumran-Texte (Berlin, 1959). He remarks that the canonical Old Testament has no such lists, and sees the influence of Stoicism upon Wis.

Of the 15 vices listed, the following six are terms never found in the LXX:

Wis 14.25. ἀπιστία. In this catalog of vices the specifically ethical meaning is to be understood, namely, "treachery." It appears from Greek tragedy and Xenophon.[101]

Wis 14.25. ἐπιορκία The Sage adopts the technical term of the vice that is mentioned as early as Homer and appears in Philodemus, On Piety 9.25. He employs the corresponding verb (14.28); this never appears in the LXX.

Wis 14.26. ἀμνηστία χάριτος, "forgetfulness of favor." Wis uses the term "forgetfulness" in the moral sense, which occurs in the second letter of the pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus, in Plato, and in Plutarch's Moralia.[102]

Wis 14.26. ἐναλλαγὴ γενέσεως "perversion of procreation." In itself the noun ἐναλλαγή means simply "change," and this is

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[101] L-S-J, p. 189. The New Testament uses the word in its religious meaning of "infidelity"; see A-G, 84-85. The verb, common in pagan Greek, appears in Wis 1.2; 10.7; 12.17; 18.13, but elsewhere in the Old Testament only in Sir 1.27 and 2 Mc 8.13.

[102] L-S-J, p. 84, reads ἀμνησία, but J. Ziegler does not list that as a variant. The term appears again in Wis 19.4.

the only text cited in L-S-J for the pejorative connotation. However, the meaning found in Wis fits for a fragment of Philodemus edited by R. Philippon, On Piety, 247VII, where the mention of the ἐναλλαγή of a name evidently refers to crimes of the gods.[103]

Wis 14.26. ἀταξία γάμων "irregularity in marriage." This terminology conforms to the classical Greek conception of vice as a lack of harmony, a deflection from the golden mean. Philodemus uses the term "irregularity" in a similar spirit.[104]

Wis 14.26. ἀσέλγεια "licentiousness." This vice is mentioned frequently in hellenistic ethical texts, and is a term common in Polybius.[105]

The catalog of vices ends with a condemnation of idolatry

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[103]Text in Hermes 55 (1920) 238. See also Timaeus Locrus, 99b. This noun became the technical term "enallage."

[104]See Philodemus, Rhet. 2.61.9; On Music 70.7.20.

[105]To the references in A-G, p. 114, can be added Philodemus, On Confidence 1b12. Note that five of these six vices are expressed by the use of alpha-privitive words, a characteristic of the prose style of hellenistic Greek. Over 70 of these formations appear in Wis.

as the cause of all these moral aberrations. He mirrors conditions in hellenistic Egypt, where prostitution was practiced in the temples, and in which a large number of children from such unions grew up. They would certainly be "witnesses of baseness against parents" (4.6).[106] His disparaging reference to their idols as ἀνώνυμα "unnamed" (14.27) is best understood as an ironic allusion to the common epithet of πολύνωμοι "many-named" for the gods.

He designates the skill of craftsmen who fashion idols capable of alluring men into idolatry as φιλοτιμία "ambition" (14.18). This was a commonplace in hellenistic moral literature, as, for example, in Philodemus, On Management 4.14, and Andronicus of Rhodes, De passionibus 4.19.[107] When he styles the conduct of the Egyptians as μισοξενία "hatred of strangers" (19.13), he is reversing the very charge being made against the Jews by his contemporaries, such as the historian Diodorus

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[106]See M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World (Oxford, 1941) 3. 1383.

[107]Also Epicurus, Fg. 8 (Usener, p. 95). The author also knows the favorable sense of this compound to designate the object of a noble ambition (18.3). That usage appears in the tracts on kingship and in the Letter of Aristeas, 227.

Siculus (34.1; 40.1). Josephus also refers to this accusation in Jewish Antiquities 1.11.1.

It was a common belief among biblical authors that men are weak and prone to evil, but the Sage picked a term from the Epicurean tradition to express this truth when he said that the thoughts of men are ἐπισφαλεῖς "treacherous" (9.14). The term, which occurs from classical times, appears in Epicurus, Fg. 200, Philodemus, Plutarch, and the papyri.[108] And when he accuses the pagans of ψυχῶν μιασμός "defilement of souls" (14.26), he employs the same expression found in the commentary of Proclus on Plato's Republic, 2. 354. 20. This text from Wis is the first instance of the use of the term "defilement" in the moral sense.[109] The author of Wis, then, was familiar with the technical terminology found in hellenistic literature and used it to describe moral dispositions.

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[108]The only biblical use of the adjective is Acts 27.9, to describe a voyage as "unsafe." The adverb of manner, which appears in Wis 4.4, ἐπισφαλῶς "unstably," is recorded first in Polybius.

[109]This moral sense occurs in Plutarch, Moralia 393c. The first recorded use of the term is 1 Mc 4.43; there and in 2 Pt 2.10 it refers to physical defilement.

Psychological Vocabulary

The most striking example of the Sage's psychological interest is his vivid description of the fear that gripped the enemies of God's people during the Exodus (17.3-19), a passage that P. Joüon called "oratorical and far removed from the Hebrew" in its presentation of this emotion.[110] Contemporary Greek historians were embellishing their narratives of ancient sources with romantic incidents and psychological insights, as the writings of Diodorus Siculus illustrate.[111] The hellenizing Jewish poet Ezekiel placed great emphasis on the fear displayed by both the Egyptians and the Jews in his drama about the Exodus, and took great liberties with the biblical text for dramatic effect.[112] Like pagan writers the Sage looks on

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[110] P. Joüon, "Crainte et peur en Hébreu biblique," Bib 6 (1925) 174-179.

[111] For the method of hellenistic historians see H. J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Literature (N.Y.: Dutton, 1960) 364-372; 411-417; also B. Z. Wacholder, Nicolas of Damascus (U. of California, 1963) 57; 69-73. For psychological embellishments see F. Cumont, Lux Perpetua (Paris, 1949) 64-65; 395-396. See also J. Palm, Sprache, 164-171.

[112] See K. Kuiper, "Le poete juif Ezechiel," REJ 46 (1903) 48-73; 161-177. The fact that Ezekiel wrote in the tradition of Greek literary forms shows that every embellishment of the biblical text cannot be called a "midrash." For the characteristics of midrash see A. G. Wright, An Investigation of the Literary Form, Haggadic Midrash, in the Old Testament and Intertestamental Literature (Washington, D.C., 1965). The question of midrash in Wis will be treated in Chapter III.

fear as an evil. This attitude would explain why he avoids the common biblical expression for the religious ideal, "fear of the Lord" φόβος κυρίου. Instead, he employs the Greek expression εὐσέβεια "piety" (10.12), a term frequent in the historians Diodorus Siculus and Dionysius Halicarnassus. Philodemus composed a tract On Piety.[113]

In his detailed description of the effects of fear upon the Egyptians the Sage incorporates 30 words never found elsewhere in the canonical books of the Old Testament. Of these the following terms deal with psychology:

Wis 17.15: ἀπροσδόκητος "unexpected," also mentioned in connection with fear by Diodorus Siculus (20.66.3). One reason why the Epicureans did not fear death was that it was not "unexpected" for them.[114]

Wis 17.3: ἐνύπνιμα "hallucination" is the interior, psychological cause of this fear. This noun was formed only

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[113]The noun "fear" appears in the singular in Wis 5.2; 17.6, 12, 15, and in the plural in 18.17. The plural is used in the LXX only in Jb 20.25 and Dn 5.6.

[114]Philodemus, On Death 37.20; text in M. Gigante, Par Pass no. 44; 10 (1955) 357-389.

during the hellenistic period from the homeric verb ἐνδείδομαι "appear." It was in use both among physicians and philosophers, and later among patristic writers.[115]

Wis 17.7. μαγικὴ "magical" craft. Magic was common among the populace in Egypt, where many magical amulets have been found. Literary works use the adjective in a pejorative connotation, and Antisthenes wrote a tract on magic.

Wis 17.8. δεῖμα "fright" serves as a synonym for fear. It was one of the epic words revived in late hellenistic prose. The Sage plays on this root by using the compound ἐκδειματόω "frighten" (17.6), a word that dropped out of literary texts after Plato until it was revived in the first century B.C.[116]

Wis 17.8 ψυχῆς νοσούσης The anxieties "of a sick soul" are the effects of fear. This image is never found in the Bible but does appear in a fragment of Menander, Monostichi.[117]

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[115] This noun appears in Jer 27 (50)39, but in the meaning of "idol," a sense not listed in L-S-J, p. 830.

[116] See L-S-J, p. 503. This point of style of using variations of the same root in a passage will be treated in the final section of this chapter.

[117] Text in Meineke, FCG 4. 355. This image is significant for the Sage's conception of the soul, which is discussed in the next chapter. On the imagery see A. H. Chroust, "The Meaning of Philosophy in the Hellenistic-Roman World," Thomist 17 (1954) 196-253, on p. 218. It goes back to Antisthenes.

ἀφεγγεῖ λήθης παρακαλύμματι

Wis 17.3. "by the dark veil of oblivion." As R. Cornely notes, the phrase is obscure and its meaning disputed. The first and third words never appear elsewhere in the Bible. No doubt the Sage was making an allusion that he felt would be grasped by his readers. The metaphor of the "veil" was found in Greek literature as early as the fourth century B.C. comic poet Antiphanes, and it appears in Plutarch. And a Greek inscription of Cotiaeum describes Hades as a "dark" land. Given this figurative language and the fact that the preceding line speaks of secret sins being hidden, Cornely accepts the opinion of Peter Nanning that the allusion is to the River Lethe. By metonymy it was often used for the darkness of Hades itself, to which the author alludes later in his description (17.14).[118] The whole development centers on the psychological effects of light and darkness.

εἰς τὴν ἀσίδηρον εἱρκτὴν κατακλεισθείς

Wis 17.16. "enclosed in the unbarred confines" is a graphic description of the paralyzing effects of fear. Both the noun and adjective appear in the

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[118]See R. Cornely, in loco, 555. The inscription is cited in L-S-J, p. 287. F. Vigouroux accepts this meaning for Lethe, DB 5. 1356. The poet Ezekiel had introduced the term φέγγος "light as of fire" into his description of the Exodus.

Bacchae of Euripides, but never again in the Bible. The verb was commonly used by Greek historians.[119]

Wis 17.15 φάντασμα "apparition," a technical term from Epicurean psychology, as seen in Philodemus.[120]

The climax of this vivid description (17.17-18) pictures men in the grip of fear as being rendered psychologically helpless. It recalls the way that Epicurus pictures man in the face of death; he is as helpless as an unwalled city before an enemy.[121] In the course of this development he formulates a definition of fear. His doing so exemplifies philosophical influence. Writers of the Old Testament in Hebrew never attempted more than descriptive definitions. For Wis fear is προδοσία τῶν ἀπὸ λογισμοῦ βουλημάτων "treachery of the resources of the reasoning faculty" (17.12). He presents it in a more

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[119]In Herodotus, 2.86, this verb describes the confining of the body to a mummy case. Wis 18.4 uses the corresponding adjective "confined," found also in 2 Mc 3.19.

[120]See also von Arnim, SVF 4.152, and Ps-Aristotle, De mundo 395a29. Wis uses other forms of the root in 6.16; 17.4 and the technical term φαντασία "phantasm" in 18.17.

[121]Epicurus, Fg. 339 (Usener, p. 228). The thought of Epicurus is developed in Philodemus, On Death (Pap. Herc 1050) 37. 27-28; see study of M. Gigante, "Filodemo, De Morte IV 37-39," Par Pass, fasc. 44; 10 (1955) 370; 377. Wis 17.18 uses the image of the "chain of darkness."

subjective way than Zeno, who defines fear as προσδοκία κακοῦ "expectation of evil."[122] The Sage's definition of fear approaches the description of "physical anger" given by the little known Epicurean philosopher Nicasicrates. Its effect is to obscure the reasoning faculty.[123] The significance of this oratorical presentation of the emotion of fear for determining the literary genre of Wis will be discussed in Chapter III.

The Sage also describes emotional reactions in terms of hellenistic psychology in other parts of his work. Egyptians "seeth" ἀγανακτέω under the divine punishments administered through animals (12.27). This term expresses emotional disturbance in Plato and subsequent Greek writers.[124] God dispenses his "inflexible" ἀποτόμος punishment "in a frightening way" φρικτῶς (6.5). Philodemus pictures the gods as acting

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[122]Von Arnim, SVF 2.98.33. See the term "expectation" in Wis 17.13, the verse following his definition of fear. Note also the descriptive definitions of Wisdom in 7.25, 26. The term λογισμός is the technical term of philosophy for man's reasoning faculty in the writings of Aristotle, who uses it in both singular and plural. Both forms are found in Wis; sg. in 12.10; 19.3; pl. in 1.3, 5; 9.14; 11.15. The noun "treachery" appears in the Bible again only in Wis 17.15.

[123]Quoted in Philodemus, On Anger (Nap. Papy. 24); text in L. Spengel, "Die herculanenischen Rollen," Philologus, Supplementband 2 (1863) 493-548.

[124]See L-S-J, p. 5. The same preposition ἐπὶ follows this verb in Lysius, as cited in A-G, p. 4.

in this same manner in his tract On the Gods 1.17. And the figurative use of the term "inflexible" appears in Euripides and was popular with Polybius and Plutarch.[125] The word was a favorite one of Wis (5.20; 6.5; 11.10; 12.9; 18.15; the word adverb in 5.22) but never appears in any other book of the Bible.

Sinful motivation is expressed as the psychological attitude of ἀλαζονεία "display" or "passion for show" (5.8; 17.7), one of the character types of Theophrastus. Polybius lists it as one of the reasons for the depopulation of Greece during the hellenistic period.[126] In describing sinners as acting ἀπεχθῶς "hatefully" against strangers (19.15), he uses a term common in pagan Greek writers since Aristotle.

Aristotelian psychological terminology appears in the presentation of divine Wisdom (7.22-27). In De anima the Philosopher raised the problem whether the soul was one or "multiple" πολυμερής (411b11). He reconciled these apparently contradictory aspects by developing the idea of "potencies" of the soul δυνάμεις (413b20), one of which is "movement according

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[125]See Marcus, "Divine Names," 55, and L. Delatte, Traités, 105. For the adverb, Philodemus, De Musica 28.24.

[126]See M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World 624.

to place" κινητικὸν κατὰ τόπον (414a31). This teaching provides background for the Sage's statements that divine Wisdom is one (7.27) and yet has a "multiple" spirit (7.22), which is "more mobile than any motion" πάσης κινήσεως κινητικώτερον (7.24)[127] because she is a "ray of the divine power" δύναμις (7:25).

In speaking of man's craving for food, the author of Wis calls it an ἀναγκαίαν ὄρεξιν "necessary appetite" (16.3). Aristotle taught that the soul, since it has sensation, necessarily has certain cravings. This type that springs from nature itself is an ὄρεξις.[128] This term appears in Sir 18.30 and 23.6 in the perjorative meaning of lust. The adjective "necessary" never appears in any part of the Bible originally written in Hebrew, but occurs in 2 Mc 4.23; 9.21, the prolog of Sir and the addition to Est 8.12p (S').

The Sage alludes to man's tendency to "imitate" μιμέομαι

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[127]The term "motion" in Wis 7.27 parallels the psychological "motion" of the passions in Epicurus, "pleasing motions" (Fg. 67, Usener, p. 120) and in the Letter of Aristeas, 156. The term deals with physical motion only in the LXX.

[128]De anima 413b20; 433a 23. The technical use of this term in Wis is noted by A. Bonhöffer, Epiktet und das Neue Testament (Giessen, 1911; reprinted 1964) 122.

(4.2; 15.9), a characteristic exploited in Plato's teaching on contemplation and in the hellenistic tracts on kingship. Ecphantus explained that the king imitates the deity by doing the things "pleasing" ἄρεστα to him (see Wis 9.9, 18); these are one and the same virtue.[129] The wise man keeps vigil for divine Wisdom (6.15), and he soon acquires her quality of being ἀμέριμνος "without care" (see 7.23). And finally, the Sage lists a knowledge of psychology as part of the intellectual endowment conferred by the divine crafts-woman Wisdom (7.20).

Hellenistic Influence on Style

In contrast to the LXX translators of the Old Testament, who clung to Hebrew word order and constructions, the author of Wis conceived and composed his book in idiomatic Greek, using the style of the literary koine taught in the classes of rhetoric at the Alexandrian gymnasia, and preserved in extant inscriptions of the area.[130] He imposed upon himself the use

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[129]Ecphantus, 277.15. Text in Delatte, Traités, 34; see also his index under "imitation" for the references to this theme in the kingship tracts. See also Wis 12.16-19.

[130]On Hellenistic education see H. I. Marrou , A History of Education in Antiquity, translated by G. Lamb. (N.Y., 1956). In hellenistic times rhetoric was "queen," p. 194. For the inscriptions, see J. and L. Robert, REG 74 (1961) 200.

of parallelismus membrorum, the essential quality of Hebrew verse, throughout much of his book.[131] Yet he also employed the features of florid Greek rhetorical prose. Hebrew or thought parallelism dominates the first nine chapters,[132] but then the sentences become more Greek in structure. Excellent examples of periodic sentences appear in Wis 12.3-7; 12.27; 13.11-15; 15.7; 17.16-19.[133]

Like any writer trained in the tradition of Greek rhetoric, he felt that literature should delight as it instructed. This is perhaps most evident in his frequent and natural use of hyperbaton, in sharp contrast to the LXX translation. The structure of the Hebrew language makes this figure almost impossible. In idiomatic Greek, "the milder forms of hyperbaton, where only one or two words intervene, are common in all authors:

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[131]Hebrew and Greek or "formal" parallelism were linked in Hellenistic times; see E. Norden, Agnostos Theos 254-263; 355-364.

[132]For examples of both parallelismus elocutionum and parallelismus membrorum in inscriptions of the first century B.C., see H. Dörrie, Der Königskult des Antiochus von Kommagene 147-151. E. des Places says that the language of Wis 14.3-8 and 15.1-4 should be compared to the examples of blessings and curses given by Dörrie, in his study De Libro Sapientiae (cap. 13-15), 51.

[133]See further examples of good Greek style in J. Freudenthal, "What was the Original Language of the Wisdom of Solomon?" JQR 3 (1891) 722-753.

particularly the interposition of a verb between substantive and adjective in agreement."[134] In contrast to the LXX version of Isaiah, which has only eight examples of this figure, and the Psalter, which has only three,[135] Wis contains 240 examples of hyperbaton, an average of more than one for each five stichs. The figure is more frequent in the last nine chapters, which show more freedom and poetic imagery, but many examples appear in the early part of the work. This feature of style argues for a Greek original; it also offers confirmation for the unity of the work, a question that will be discussed in Chapter IV.

They hyperbata are divided almost equally between those involving the separation of the article from its substantive, which Pelletier calls "enclaves," and those without an article. Of the former, the following six types appear:

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[134]J. D. Denniston, Greek Prose Style (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952) 51. See A. Pelletier, Flavius, 228.

[135]Barring error, the only examples are Is 28.20; 29.15, 18, 24; 33.8bis; 50.4; 57.15 (= Ps 112.5), and Ps 10.5; 122.3. By contrast, the figure is frequent in 2 Mc, written originally in Greek, and in the Greek additions of Esther, especially in the decree following 8.12 (Vg 16.1-24); here 36 examples occur in the 56 lines of the edition of Rahlfs. Denniston holds that hyperbaton began as an oratorical device because the "alternating rise and fall of emphasis produce a pleasing effect," ibid., 59. J. Palm discusses this figure in Diodorus Siculus, Sprache, 131-139. See also its use in CPJ 2. 6, #142.

(1) separation by the use of a pronoun in the genitive (11 times), e.g., Wis 6.4:[136] τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας.

(2) separation by a noun without an article (25 times), e.g., Wis 7.28: τὸν σοφίᾳ συνοικοῦντα.

(3) separation by another articular phrase (35 times), e.g., Wis 9.4: τὴν τῶν σῶν θρόνων πάρεδρον σοφίαν.

(4) separation by some form of the verb or verbal phrase (16 times), e.g., Wis 12.23: διὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐβαρύνθησαν βδελυγμάτων.

(5) separation by a prepositional phrase (22 times), e.g., Wis 16.27:[137] τὸ γὰρ ὑπὸ πυρὸς μὴ φθειρόμενον.

(6) separation by an adverb (13 times) e.g., Wis 14.17: διὰ τὸ μακρὰν οἰκεῖν.

A more complex and artful form of hyperbaton is formed by placing a combination of such modifiers between an article and its noun, e.g., a prepositional phrase and a genitive, as in Wis 12.24: τὰ καὶ ἐν ζῴοις τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἄτιμα ; or

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[136] This position emphasizes the pronoun; see H. G. Meecham, The Letter of Aristeas, 154, citing no. 234.

[137] Often this kind of hyperbaton is simply a circumlocution for a genitive. J. Palm, Sprache 180-181, calls it an example of hellenistic jargon. See Wis 13.13.

another articular phrase and a finite verb, as in Wis 14.18: ἡ τοῦ τεχνίτου προετρέψετο φιλοτιμία. The Sage at times adopts the sophisticated style of interlacing two hyperbata, a favorite device of Plato in his later writings.[138] Related to his use of the articular enclave is the author's device of making a substantive out of an entire prepositional phrase. This was a feature of hellenistic prose rather than of pure Attic style; it is used by Aristeas but eliminated by Josephus.[139]

The other type of hyperbaton, in which the artistic order of words is not linked to an article, is used by the author 119 times. One of his favorite forms is the common one mentioned by Denniston, namely, to place a verb form between a noun and its modifier; e.g., Wis 4.2: παροῦσάν τε μιμοῦνται αὐτήν. In Wis 5.10; 7.14; 10.7; 18.18, this figure occurs in

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[138]Examples in Wis 2.24b; 7.25b; 8.5b; 17.4c, 14a-c, with the separation extending over three stichs; 18.5c; 19.8a, 16b. J. D. Denniston, Greek Prose Style calls these "word-arabesques," and sees them as responsible for textual variants because of carelessness or simplification by scribes. This is perhaps the origin of variants in Wis 5.10 on τροπίος (see Ziegler, p. 64); 7.22a on σοφία; 17.9a on ταραχώδες; 18.5c on τὸ αὐτῶν (see Ziegler, p. 64).

[139]Examples in Wis 2.17; 8.13; 9.16, three times; 9.18. See A. Pelletier, Flavius, 207. These occur in the LXX also, where the Greek article replaces the Hebrew relative; see Is 39.6.

connection with a relative; this was a practice common in classical Greek. Recognition of this figure is a help to understanding the complicated phrase of Wis 12.5c, because it shows that the correct division is:[140] καὶ αἵματος ἐκ μέσου μύστας θιάσου "and the initiates on the occasion of a blood revel."

The author's rehtorical training manifests itself in the frequency with which he employs the various kinds of plays on words that characterize Greek prose style, such as assonance, alliteration, oxymoron, and especially paronomasia or "punning assonance."[141] More than 115 examples of such rhetorical figures are scattered throughout the book; they appear in every chapter except the tenth. The following examples illustrate his competent use of "punning assonance":

Wis 2.11-12. The combination ἄχρηστον~δύσχρηστος following shortly after the verb χρησώμεθα (2.6).[142]

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[140] P. W. Skehan, Traditio 3 (1945) 11-12, begins the phrase here, but the CCD translation leaves it incomplete.

[141] This is the terminology of J. D. Denniston, Greek Prose Style, 136. He gives classical examples, pp. 124-137.

[142] A similar play on the words ἄχρηστον~εὐχαριστίαν ἀχαρίστου in Wis 16.28-29 favors unity of authorship.

Wis 5.10c. The Sage has achieved a striking phrase ἄτρυτον τρόπιος by joining the poetic word for "path" to the Ionic genitive of the Homeric word for a ship's "keel."

Wis 6.10. The clause ὁσίως τὰ ὅσια ὁσιωθήσονται recalls the play on τελέω in Plato, Phaedo 249c8.

Wis 11.14-15. The play on δικαιόις ~ ἀδίκῳ ~ ἐκδίκησιν is an example of his ability to pun on compounds from the same root. He plays on the root for the word "just" on three other occasions, namely, 1.8; 12.12-16; 14.29-31. Other examples involving the use of compounds appear in 1.7; 5.4-5; 7.23; 8.16-18; 14.15-20; 16.3-14, 19-27.

Wis 14.11bcd. In order to keep similar endings in three parallel prepositional phrases, the author unobtrusively aligns βδέλυγμα ~ σκάνδαλα ~ παγίδα, a neuter singular, a neuter plural, and a feminine singular.

Wis 18.22. The Sage achieves the play ὄχλον ~ ὅπλον by using ὄχλος in its less common meaning of "distress." This play on words is a good reason for refusing to emend the text and to follow the reading of all the mss.

In two instances he creates compounds to achieve a play on words. He coins the adjective βραχυτελής "insignificant"

way of life to balance the description of the clay as εὐτελεστέρα "more worthless" than earth from which man comes (15.9-10).[143] He makes his satire against the makers of clay idols more bitter by creating a new title for them. By that activity, which entails "much drudgery" ἐπίμοχθον, the idol maker simply becomes a "perverted drudger" κακόμοχθος (15.7-8).

This freedom, skill, and originality in the handling of words and the turning of phrases would seem to identify the Sage as one well trained in composing hellenistic prose. Yet his competence has been challenged by some of his commentators, such as J. Reider and A. T. S. Goodrick. The former concurs in J. Freudenthal's opinion that the author "was writing in a foreign language that he really did not know thoroughly."[144] Goodrick's charges that the writer of Wis had only an imperfect knowledge of Greek have been sufficiently dealt with by E. A.

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[143]This new term has a moral connotation in this satire on the βίος "way of life" of makers and idols. Wis knows the distinction found in both classical and hellenistic Greek between βίος and ζωή. See O. Montevecchi, Aegyptus 37 (1957) 56.

[144]J. Reider, The Book of Wisdom, 27-28. Reider's objection is more to "turgid and grotesque diction." He admits that Wis "was composed by an Alexandrian Jew who was well versed in the Greek language, classical and otherwise, but to whom not all of its secrets had been revealed."

Speiser.[145] The most common basis for this adverse judgment is that the Sage used the words μεταλλεύω (4.12 and 16.25) and φιλόψυχος (11.26) incorrectly.[146] The former verb is supposedly substituted erroneously for μεταλλάσσω, the classical Greek word for "change." However, by the time that this book was composed, the papyri show that the classical verb had become the technical term in Egypt for "die." Another word for "change" μεταλλοιόω appears in the lexica, but it is late and rare.[147] The plausible explanation for the Sage's choice of the word μεταλλεύω, which in its original sense dealt with the mining of ore, is that it was then in current use in the general sense of undergoing a change, the conception that he wishes to convey in both passages.[148]

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[145] E. A. Speiser, "The Hebrew Origin of the First Part of the Book of Wisdom," JQR n.s. 14 (1923-24) 455-482, on p. 469. He refers to A. T. S. Goodrick, The Book of Wisdom (London, 1913).

[146] E. A. Speiser, ibid., 456, citing the opinion of S. Holmes. J. Reider, op. cit., 28, repeats this example and adds others where words are apparently used incorrectly.

[147] For this verb see H. G. Meecham, The Letter of Aristeas, 188, in his note on no. 17, which contains this rare verb. The mss of Wis offer no significant variants.

[148] See L-S-J, p. 1114. A confirmation of the extension of meaning is that the verb means "undermine" in Josephus, AJ 17.10. The compound ὑπομεταλλεύω is used in the military sense of "countermine" in Polybius, 1.42.12, cited by L-S-J, p. 159. The use of this verb in both the early and late parts of the book has been offered as an argument for a single author.

The objection against his use of φιλόψυχος is that he has misunderstood the sense of this rare classical compound, which originally meant "cowardly," because he employs it to mean "lover of life" in the benevolent sense. This argument is based on the false assumption that the classical usage of words is an absolute and unchanging model for correct Greek prose of any period; it fails to allow for normal fluctuations in connotations of words. Greek lexicography shows that other forms of this compound had favorable connotations. The usage of Wis must be put in that tradition.[149] It is typical of him to prefer contemporary usage; he does not display the Atticism that was popular later.[150] His flexibility is evident in the idiomatic use of ἔκβασις, a common hellenistic noun that appears three times with three diverse meanings: as a euphemism for death (2.17); in the Stoic usage as "completion" (8.8), and

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[149] See L-S-J, p. 1942.

[150] This flexibility is the best explanation for the hapax ἀνεκλιπής "unfailing" (7.14; 8.18), where the Sage creates a negative compound. His usage of παροδεύω in the metaphorical sense of "by-pass" in 6.22 and 10.8 is the only example of this usage according to Grimm, p. 135.

in the plural for "success" (11.14).[151]

Two other features of the author's vocabulary that follow hellenistic usage are the frequency of compounds, especially with κατα-, περι-, and εὐ-, and the use of ἴδιος as a reflexive pronound.[152] Some evidence has been presented that he experimented with rhythmic prose, but his efforts did not go far in that direction.[153] A. G. Wright has recently discovered the existence of the hellenistic "golden mean ratio" in parts of the book.[154]

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[151]On the wide use of this word see L-S-J, 501-502; A-G, p. 237; Lampe, p. 425. In view of the book's extensive vocabulary, it is not clear why J. Reider considers this flexibility as "poverty of diction" on the part of the author; see his Book of Wisdom, 29.

[152]See J. Palm, Sprache 39, 43, 79-81. Wis adds 16 new εὐ-compounds to Biblical Greek. Also, 10 of its 38 compound words formed with κατα; and five of the 10 with περι- are not found elsewhere in the Old Testament.

[153]See H. St J. Thackerary, "Rhythm in the Book of Wisdom," JTS 6 (1904-05) 232-237; F. Focke, Entstehung, 54.

[154]A. G. Wright, "Numerical Patterns in the Book of Wisdom," CBQ 29 (1967) 524-538.

Three other typically Greek figures of speech are worthy of note here, namely, the sorites of 6.17-20, litotes, and anaphora. Litotes, which is found 17 times, occurs in the first and last sentences of the book:

Wis 1.2: τοῖς μὴ ἀπιστοῦσιν those not mistrusting;

Wis 19.22: οὐχ ὑπερεῖδες you do not disdain.

Many examples of the litotes involve the use of an alpha-privative word; the same feature of style is characteristic of Diodorus Siculus.[155] The Sage uses anaphora skillfully in 5.14; 12.12; 13.7-9, and above all in repeating the pronoun αὕτη six times in Chapter 10. Similar repetition of the personal pronoun is a feature of hellenistic hymns of praise discovered in Egypt.[156] The form of anaphara used in Chapter 10 by repeating the personal pronoun is the so-called "Er-stil" employed in these hymns.[157] Two other stylistic features of

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[155]See Wis 1.11; 3.11; 11.17; 12.9, 10, 13, and J. Palm, Sprache, 154.

[156]See A. J. Festugière, "Le style de la 'Kore Kosmou'," Vivre et Penser 2 (1942) 15-57, with examples on pp. 52-53.

[157]See E. Norden, Agnostos Theos (Berlin, 1912; offset reproduction, Stuttgart, 1956) 163-166.

hellenistic Greek hymns also appear in the Sage's praises of divine Wisdom, namely, the repetition of πᾶς, which is used 19 times in chs. 7-10, and the dative of interest as a way of designating the suppliant, found in 9.4, 10.[158]

This survey of the vocabulary and style of Wis shows that the sacred writer was trained in Greek rhetoric and was subject to a wide variety of hellenistic influences. The great biblical translator St. Jerome was accurate in his observation that "ipse stylus Graecam eloquentiam redolet."[159] To his judgment can be added the conclusion of the modern scholar R. H. Pfeiffer, "Gentile hellenistic expressions are much more conspicuous in Wisdom than those derived from the Greek Bible."[160] One reason why the satisfying reading of the Book of Wisdom is so demanding is that it depends upon a knowledge of the literary milieu to which the Sage constantly alludes. The allusions are conspicuous,

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[158] See Edouard des Places, "La prière cultuelle dans la Grèce ancienne," RvSR 33 (1959) 342-359, on pp. 351-353, and A. J. Festugière, RHT 2. 607, addenda to p. 319. The Sage replaces the hellenistic appeal of the god to "come" by his petiition to the Lord to "give" or to "send" Wisdom (9.4, 10).

[159] St. Jerome, Praefatio in Libros Salomonis. PL 28. 1308.

[160] Robert H. Pfeiffer, History of New Testament Times, with an Introduction to the Apocrypha (London, 1949) 332.

but is the influence profound? That is the question to be discussed in Chapter II.

CHAPTER II

THE DEPTH OF HELLENISTIC INFLUENCE

The originality with which the author of the Book of Wisdom used the books of the Hebrew Old Testament has been treated at length by P. W. Skehan.[1] At the same time, hellenistic influences are evident. In fact, H. B. Swete judged that its language was "shaped upon Greek models," and saw it as the sole survival of the earlier works produced by the philosophical movement in Alexandria that culminated in Philo.[2] The question of how thoroughly hellenistic influences penetrated the author's method, outlook, and judgments has never been adequately investigated. C. Grimm, who touches on the problem briefly in treating the authorship of the book, considered his knowledge of Greek philosophy only superficial, the result not of deep

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[1]Patrick W. Skehan, Literary Relationship between the Book of Wisdom and the Protocanonical Wisdom Books of the Old Testament (Washington, 1938); "Isaias and the Teaching of the Book of Wisdom," CBQ 2 (1940) 289-299; "Borrowings from the Psalms in the Book of Wisdom," CBQ 10 (1948) 384-397.

[2]H. B. Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek (Cambridge, 1900) 268-269.

study but only of contact on a popular level.[3] In his brief summary on the use of Greek philosophy in Wis, F. Focke suggested that its use was merely to give a "hellenistic luster" to the work.[4] The long study of P. Heinisch is limited to influence in the field of philosophy.[5] In his thesis on the language of the author's theological ideas, G. Ziener admits that "some concepts of Greek philosophy have exercised deep influence upon the Book of Wisdom," but he does not investigate them in detail.[6]

The problem merits a fuller treatment, one undertaking a more complete comparison of key concepts in Wis with contemporary hellenistic culture and speculation. The study cannot

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[3]C. L. W. Grimm, Das Buch der Weisheit (Leipzig, 1860) 22.

[4]Friedrich Focke, Die Entstehung der Weisheit Salomos (Göttingen, 1913) 92. (Abbreviated: Entstehung)

[5]Paul Heinisch, Die griechische Philosophie im Buche der Weisheit (Münster in W, 1908). (Abbreviated: Philosophie)

[6]Georg Ziener, Die theologische Begriffssprache im Buche der Weisheit (Bonn, 1956) 159. (Abbreviated: Begriffssprache). He sees the influence chiefly on Wis 7.20-24; 13.1-8; 19.18, and in the philosophical treatment of miracles. See pp. 40, 74, 134, 144-148, 150-159.

be limited to philosophy, nor can it assume that the author was a Platonist.[7] He was not an academic philosopher but rather a religious thinker interested in the full range of encyclopedic knowledge. Correct methodology demands that closer attention be paid "to the great post-Aristotelian schools, especially Stoicism with its strong religious feeling and interest in morals."[8]

The chief characteristic of these hellenistic philosophical schools was their religious inspiration. An outstanding product of the religious speculation of the first century B.C. is the treatise of Ps-Aristotle, De mundo, a tract so important for the understanding of late hellenistic philosophical piety that A. J. Festugière studied it at great length in his four-volume work dealing with hermetism.[9] Another

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[7]This is the position of Stella Lange, "The Wisdom of Solomon and Plato," JBL 55 (1936) 293-308, but she works in a narrow range of religious ideas.

[8]Gillis Gerleman, Studies in the Septuagint, III. Proverbs (Lund, 1956) 53, speaking of LXX vocabulary.

[9]A. J. Festugière, La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste. I. L'Astrologie et les sciences occultes. II. Le Dieu cosmique. III. Les Doctrines de l'Ame. IV. Le Dieu inconnu et la gnose (Paris, Etudes bibliques, 1944-1954). (Abbreviated: RHT). He discusses De mundo in RHT 2. 460-518. The date of this tract is still disputed, but it mirrors the religious atmosphere of the first century B.C. G. Ziener quotes this work as if it were written by Aristotle himself on p. 155, although his information about it is correct on p. 135.

important source of religious thought for this period is the Epicurean philosopher and teacher of Cicero, Philodemus. A large selection of his works was found at Herculaneum and edited only after Grimm's basic commentary on Wis. The lexicon of his writings, which was completed only in 1941, reveals many similarities with the Book of Wisdom.[10] Yet the vocabulary study on Wis by E. Gärtner does not refer to Philodemus at all.[11]

The age in which the author of Wis wrote was a period of experimentation and uncertainty. After the great speculative systems of classical Greece had run their course, an intellectual skepticism arose. Philosophers turned their attention to scientific research and problems of moral guidance. As the opinion grew that "the good life" consisted "rather in the renunciation of all efforts to know than in knowledge

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[10] C. J. Vooys and D. A. Van Krevelen, Lexicon Philodemeum (Purmerend, 1934 for vol 1; Amsterdam, 1941 for vol 2). See the glossary of philosophical terms found in Philodemus in P. H. and E. A. DeLacy, Philodemus: On Methods of Inference (Philadelphia, 1941) 188-193. In this list are found 83 words used in Wis; eight of these appear in no other canonical book of the Old Testament. Noteworthy are: ἀΐδιος everlasting; στοιχεῖον element; φάντασμα apparition; φύσις nature.

[11] Eugen Gärtner, Komposition und Wortwahl des Buches der Weisheit (Berlin, 1912). (Abbreviated: Komposition)

itself," men turned more to "the heavenly sphere," and to a "passionate craving for the salvation of souls."[12] The prevailing sentiment was that human reason was inadequate to direct men's lives. Consequently, they turned more to trust religious sentiment, and a "monotheistic tendency" developed by which they directed their worship "more or less consciously to the unique God."[13] This religious atmosphere presented a challenge to the believing Jew, for the Law erected barriers that blocked his association with pagans. At a time when "Hellenism tended to enlarge into humanity," Jewish particularism seemed in the judgment of pagans to stand in the way of civilization, human progress, and the unity of mankind.[14] The Sage knew that the educated Jewish community of Alexandria could not ignore contemporary developments, and yet, they could

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[12]Anton-Herman Chroust, "The Meaning of Philosophy in the Roman-Hellenistic World," Thomist 17(1954) 197-253, on p. 200. He explains that this gradual transformation of philosopy from the "ethico-practical standpoint to a religious-metaphysical point of view" was finally completed in neo-Platonism (p. 236).

[13]Edouard des Places, "Hymnes grecs au seuil de l'ère chrètienne," Bib 38 (1957) 113-129, on pp. 124, 129.

[14]A. Causse, "La propaganda juive et l'hellénisme," RHPhilRel 3 (1923) 397-414, on p. 399.

not survive as a people if they abandoned their revelation (see 18.4). The prevailing social philosophy was the active influence that stimulated the Sage's work. In order to determine the depth of hellenistic influence upon him, this chapter will study three areas closely connected with his religious purpose in writing:

I. his portrayal of man's relationship with God;

II. his teaching on the nature of man's immortality;

III. his anthropology, viewed against the background of the hellenistic kingly ideal.

I. Man's Relationship with God

Pagan mystics of the hellenistic and Roman periods sought "union with a transcendent God" by different methods, ranging from the level of popular personal piety to astral mysticism and abstract philosophical contemplation.[15] The entire Book of Wisdom vibrates with the religious feeling of the Sage's opening appeal to "seek" the Lord (1.1). His similarity in vocabulary and style with contemporary pagan religious writings raises the question of how much influence

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[15] See A. J. Festugière, RHT 4. ix.

hellenistic religion had on his method of conceiving and presenting this search. The following treatment of similarities and differences between them will attempt to answer this question more carefully than any existing study; and it will try to show why the inspired author used these sources.

The work begins with a long treatment of man's eternal destiny. This occupies what has been called "the book of eschatology" (1.1--6.11 + 6.17-20), in which the Sage explains that man was created to enjoy blessed immortality, "the diadem of beauty from the hand of the Lord" (5.16; see 3.1). Toward the end of this development, he once more urges his readers to heed his plea and learn wisdom (6.9). In this way he prepares for the second part of his complex work, "the book of Wisdom proper," to use the terminology of W. Weber, E. Gärtner, and commentators who follow their lead (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21)[16] This second development of the Sage presents a scholarly religious program by which just men will be saved in the great

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[16] W. Weber, "Die Unsterblichkeit der Weisheit Salomos," Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie 48 (1905) 409-449, on p. 419, quoted by F. Focke, Entstehung, 74; E. Gärtner, Komposition, 2.

"reckoning," when they will remain living after death to "condemn the ungodly" (4.16, 20). In this part the unknown author assumes the person of the wise King Solomon as he gives detailed instructions about how to obtain eternal happiness. He expands upon the "mysteries of God" (2.26) to show how divine providence conducts the just man during this life and brings him to heavenly bliss. For this is the work of God, who gives the just man a special gift, his own divine Wisdom, without which even the perfect man "will be esteemed as nothing" (9.6). To reach life with God forever, man must now become "related to Wisdom" (8.17). The Sage concludes this development by examples from sacred history showing that she has always been present to save men by her guidance and efficacious protection (ch 10).

In other words, in the "book of Wisdom proper," Ps-Solomon descends to the practical details of the "search" for the Lord, showing that a man can "seek justice" only by taking divine Wisdom as his bride (1.1 and 8.2), because only this union with her leads him to immortality (8.13). This is not a quality of human nature, but a gift to man. In his opening exhortation the Sage identified it as a property of justice (1.15); now he states that justice is a work of divine Wisdom

(8.7).[17] By these links between the first and second parts of his work, the author brings home to his readers his religious purpose. He intends to meet the challenge that hellenistic religious movements, and especially the cult of Isis, goddess of wisdom, were offering to Jewish believers. He approaches the situation not in a negative way, but by a "progressive approach"; he intends to exploit what is good in paganism for the service of revealed religion.[18] Since these first two parts of the work admirably complement each other, their variation in content and style offer no valid basis for postulating different authors.[19]

A. Union with God through Divine Wisdom

After the break up of the Greek city-states and the resulting decline in traditional religious beliefs, men were in search of stable values, and often found them in personal

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[17]The concept that union with Wisdom produces no trouble in contrast to uncertain carnal marriages was a commonplace in hellenistic literature; see A. J. Festugière, RHT 4.221. The Book of Wis equates the Hebrew notion of general justice with the four cardinal virtues of the Greeks (8.6-7).

[18]See Alexander A. Di Lella, "Conservative and Progressive Theology: Sirach and Wisdom," CBQ 28 (1966) 139-154.

[19]This type of variation is used as an argument for diversity of authorship by E. Gärtner, Komposition, 28, 71.

religious experiences. Stoic teachers stressed the religious features of their philosophy by showing that their conception of a divinity who fills the universe could be reconciled with the traditional gods of polytheism. The most successful product of their efforts was the majestic and moving hymn to Zeus by the Stoic mystic Cleanthes. Commentators on Wis universally recognize Stoic influence at least on the long series of attributes of divine Wisdom (7.22-23).[20] And it is not improbable that "earlier Stoic allegorizations" of the theme of the divinity "concentrated in the firmament yet immanent in the cosmos" influenced Ps-Solomon's portrait of divine Wisdom.[21]

Of greater significance, however, for understanding the author's presentation of union with God in "the book of Wisdom proper" (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21) is the hellenized Isis cult, revitalized during the second century B.C. It was "one of the

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[20]See G. Verbeke, L'evolution de la doctrine du Pneuma du Stoicisme à S. Augustin (Louvain, 1945) 225-226; 233-236; G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 39-40; 74; A. J. Festugière, RHT 2. 515.

[21]Such is the opinion of W. L. Knox, "The Divine Wisdom," JTS 38 (1937) 230-237; he quotes Wis 7.8; 8.4; 9.2, 9 as confirmation of his position.

most extraordinary spiritual experiences in antiquity, "and exercised great influence during the early Christian era.[22] In the deeply religious environment of Egypt, the increasing Jewish insistence on the absolute transcendence of God must have worked a severe hardship upon pious Jews who were deprived of sharing in the cult of the Temple.[23] The author's strong traditional piety and ardent admiration for the heroes of sacred history made him more sensitive to the need of his religious fellow Jews to externalize their adoration in the celebrations of religious praise prescribed in the Bible.[24] As "sons of God" (5.5), the chosen people enjoyed a "community

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[22]P. Derchain, in L'Antiquité Classique 30 (1961) 666-668, discussing D. Müller, Aegypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien (diss. Leipzig, 1961). For locations of the Isis cult see T. A. Brady, The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks (330-30 B.C.). U. of Missouri Studies 10 (1935) 5-88.

[23]Descriptions of the religious environment of late Hellenism can be found in Harold I. Bell," Greco-Egyptian Religion," Museum helveticum 10 (1953) 227-237; A. J. Festugière, L'Idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Evangile (Paris, 1932) and Personal Religion among the Greeks (Berkeley, 1954); K. Prümm, "Mystères. VII. Les mystères égyptiens: Isis et Osiris," DBS 6. 127-136. One reason for the rapid growth of Christianity was that "it made man at home in the universe," A. D. Nock, Conversion (Oxford, 1932) 211.

[24]See Wis 10.20-21, the role of Wisdom in praise; 16.28, the lesson of the manna; 18.6-9, the description of the passover; 18.21-22, on prayer as the means of expiation.

of life" with divine Wisdom (8.3, 9, 16); they could have no intercourse with pagan gods or demons.[25] Their union with God involved a unique "relationship" with Wisdom (8.17) as opposed to the natural relationship of the human spirit to the heavens which was being pursued by contemporary pagan devotees of astral contemplation.[26] Belief in the divine origin and destiny of the superior part of the human soul, a doctrine originating in Plato, Timaeus 90a, had become a "dogma" in most schools of hellenistic philosophy except Epicureanism, which opposed astral contemplation as fatalistic.[27]

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[25]On the pagan practices of communion with gods, see Martin P. Nilsson, "The Psychological Background of Late Greek Paganism," Review of Religion 11 (1947) 115-125.

[26]For a study of the term "relationship," important in pagan theology, see E. des Places, Syngenia. La parenté de l'homme avec Dieu (Paris: Klinksieck, 1964). In the Bible the term appears in a religious sense only in Wis.

[27]Texts referring to this belief are studied in Erwin Pfeiffer, Studien zum antiken Sternglauben, (Stoicheia 2; Leipzig, 1916). He quotes the statement attributed to Heraclitus by Cicero, that the soul is "scintilla stellaris essentiae," Somn. Scip. on p. 14. A. Dupont-Sommer argues for an allusion to this belief in Wis 3.7, but on the basis of an emended text, in "De l'immortalité dans la 'Sagesse de Salomon'," REG 62 (1949) 80-87. Against this see the same imagery in Wis 3.7 as in Is 1.31. A. J. Festugière describes the object of this piety when he writes, "By the contemplation of the beauty of heaven, where the stars themselves are gods, man could reach the organizer of the heavenly choirs, and in a more general way, the regulator of the All," RHT 4. 263; see also 2. 278, 514. The "cosmic chorus leader" is treated in J. P. McGuire, "The Sources of Ps-Aristotle 'De Mundo'," Yale Classical Studies 6 (1939) 153.

Ps-Solomon recognized that, because of the widespread interest in religion, contemporary advances in literary, scientific, and cultural standards were challenging traditional Jewish faith in the unique historical God of revelation. Science and philosophy had taken on religious overtones; men were taken up in the pursuit of wisdom. This involved a real "conversion," for "to become a philosopher meant adopting a new way of life" even to dress.[28] He wanted to give to his fellow believers an expression of their revealed beliefs that could match in the depths of its personal religion both the hymn of Cleanthes, called by Festugière "one of the most moving remains of ancient piety,"[29] and also the widespread lyrical outpourings to the appealing goddess Isis. He accepts the existence of cosmic harmony, but attributes it to the power and activity of the God of his people (19.18-21).[30] Thus he is the first author

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[28]Henri I. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity (N.Y., 1956) 206. See A. H. Chroust, Thomist 17 (1954) 206.

[29]A. J. Festugière, RHT 2.311; he studies this hymn on pp. 310-322. Text of the hymn appears in von Arnim, SVF 1, no. 527. Festugière calls this illogical recourse to prayer by Stoics a yielding to man's religious needs, L'Idéal ..., 72.

[30]Paul Beauchamp, "Le salut corporel des justes et la conclusion du livre de la Sagesse," Bib 45 (1964) 491-526, explains these verses in terms of a new creation, pp. 507-508; but he admits influence from hellenistic cosmology, pp. 512-513; 518. (Abbreviated: "Salut"). See also R. Le Déaut, La Nuit pascale (Rome, 1963) 231-232.

to introduce into the Bible a "symbolic interpretation of a cosmic nature,"[31] a technique highly developed by Philo, when he envisions the "whole universe" upon the high priest's robe (18.24). But Ps-Solomon does not subscribe to the pagan theory that the soul achieves its own salvation by ascending through the spheres of this harmonious cosmos to arrive at its true heavenly dwelling place.[32] On the contrary, he insists that divine Wisdom and the salvation she brings to men are gifts from the personal God, who is creator, father, and director of all.[33]

The religious literature of the hellenistic world provided ample material for portraying man's search for union with

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[31]H. De Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale 1.208; see H. A. Wolfson, Philo (Harvard U., 1948) 1. 260; G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 155-7.

[32]See von Arnim, SVF 1.502, and A. D. Nock, "The Lyre of Orpheus," CR 41 (1927) 170. This mystical tradition is developed in hermetic literature.

[33]See Wis 7.7, 14; 8.21; 9.4, 17; ch. 10. Also, K. von Fritz, "Greek Prayers," Review of Religion 10 (1945-46) 5-39, especially 34-37. The article "Beatitude" in X. Léon-Dufour, ed., Vocabulary of Biblical Theology (English trans., N.Y.: Desclée, 1967) 32-34, gives texts illustrating the biblical view of God as offering men happiness through grace.

God. But Ps-Solomon wanted to show that man's search for God was not the beginning of salvation. This begins with the personal God's search for man, for the Lord of creation is also the sole author of salvation, which is eternal blessedness with himself. Only God can give the power and the wisdom that men need to "seek justice" in this world and to enjoy peace in his hands forever.[34] This section will attempt to show that Ps-Solomon drew from the literature of the Isis cult to describe man's union with God. While remaining on a concrete and practical level, and employing images from popular religion, he offers a foreshadowing of the mystery of gratia praeveniens, as E. Osty has noted.[35] In his earlier study on Wis P. Heinisch sought

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[34]See Wis 3.1-3; 5.1. On knowledge as a gift, see Wis 6.22; 7.7, 15, 21; 9.11, 17, texts cited by F. Focke, Entstehung, 102. The divine initiative appears in Wis 6.13-16; 7.12-14; 9.17-18, and in the miracles of the Exodus.

[35]E. Osty, Le Livre de la Sagesse (BJ, 2nd fascicle ed., 1957) 53, commenting on Wis 6.13. G. Philips, "La grâce des justes de l'Ancien Testament," ETL 24 (1948) 23-58, writes that the description of Wisdom in this book is a "sufficiently clear affirmation of a supernatural gift of holiness," p. 24. P. Heinisch holds that the statement of Wis 5.15 presents heavenly reward as both merces and gratia, "Das jüngste Gerichte im Buche der Weisheit," Theologie und Glaube 2 (1910) 89-106, on p. 96. E. Gärtner arrives at a similar conclusion in his explanation of Wis 8.19-20, in which he finds a solution to the problem of the relation between good will and divine grace, Komposition, 32-33. This subject will be treated under anthropology.

to prove that the description of the just man's wooing of divine Wisdom (8.2-18) showed direct literary dependence upon the famous choice of Heracles at the crossroads. Virtue as a beautiful maiden explains the advantages of choosing her in preference to Lady Vice. However, this theme had become a commonplace in Greek literature, and S. Holmes correctly pointed out the weakness of the arguments of Heinisch. Without mentioning this criticism, Heinisch retracted his position in his commentary on Wis.[36] The truth is that an influence much nearer to Ps-Solomon than the Pre-Socratics offers a better background for the personified Wisdom of the "book of Wisdom proper" (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21), namely, the hellenistic religious hymns in praise of Isis.

But before presenting texts to illustrate this influence, it is necessary to prove that Ps-Solomon was not basing his

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[36]Paul Heinisch, Philosophie, 33-35, with the retraction in Das Buch der Weisheit, 168-169. The choice of Heracles is related in Xenophon, Memorabilia 2.1.22-33. The similarity with Wis had already been noted by Grimm and Westcott, but the prevalence of the theme cautioned against asserting direct literary dependence. It was rejected both by E. Gärtner and by S. Holmes, translator of Wis in R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English (Oxford, 1913). See also C. M. Bowra, "Aristotle's Hymn to Virtue," CQ 32 (1938) 182-189, for Aristotle's use of the theme of Virtue as a maid.

presentation upon earlier Old Testament wisdom hymns. This can be accomplished best by explaining that such hymns in the Hebrew Bible describe a different type of relationship between Wisdom and the just man. In them the just man is pictured as the pupil of Wisdom. He comes to her to learn the riches of revelation because ultimately she is the personification of the infinite religious treasure of the Mosaic Law that has kept Israel as God's own special possession, a nation separated from her pagan neighbors.[37] By fidelity to her precepts the God-fearing Israelite finds "life" (Prv 8.35; Bar 3.9), that is, the peace and prosperity promised him in the Book of Deuteronomy and many of the psalms. This emphasis on divine rewards during this life appears in the Wisdom hymns of the Hebrew Bible, in sharp contrast to Ps-Solomon's insistence that true life is eternal happiness with God. He treats all of man's activities in this life in the perspective of his eternal destiny. For the Hebrew writers of the hymns, Wisdom is essentially the Law, either objectively as taking up an abode in

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[37]See especially Sir 24.23-29 (22-27); Bar 4.1; the idea is implied in Prv 1.20-33 and 8.1--9.6. An addition makes it explicit in Prv 9.10aLXX.

Israel (Sir 24.1-27; Bar 4.1), or subjectively, motivating the upright man as his "way" (Bar 3.23; see Prv 8.35) or as his "guide" (Bar 4.2; see Sir 15.1-8; 51.16).

Ps-Solomon, on the other hand, presents divine Wisdom as the object of an intimate, personal religious experience, an experience that upright men enjoyed long before the Law was given (ch. 10), one that is defined not by prosperity in this life but rather blossoms into the gift of "incorruption," the state of "being near God" forever.[38] The extended use of sexual imagery is his literary vehicle for communicating this truth.[39] Although sexual imagery is common in hellenistic religious literature, the only other places in the canonical Old Testament where it appears in the context of union with

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[38]Wis 6.19; see 8.13-18. The insertion of the sorites on the growth and fruits of practical wisdom (6.17-20) after divine Wisdom has already been introduced (6.12-16) establishes a literary bond between the first two parts of Wis. By it the author implies that union with divine Wisdom in this world is the necessary condition for union with her Donor in the next.

[39]The imagery appears in Wis 6.12-14; 7.28; 8.2-18. It serves as the basis for the position of G. Boström that ἐγκρατής (8.21) has the cultic meaning of "chaste," Proverbiastudien (Lund, 1936) 166. However, this sense seems too restrictive in the context of the prayer which follows in ch. 9.

Wisdom are Sir 15.1-8 and 51.13-21. The latter text is an abecedarian poem, part of which has now been discovered at Cave 11 of Qumran (11QPs^{a}).[40]

Even here, however, the use of sexual imagery shows a significant difference. The first of these two hymns in Sir is a promise to the scribe that he will receive ability to instruct others in his own knowledge of the Law. The image of the virgin bride appears in parallel with the figure of the mother (Sir 15.2) as merely a passing simile that is not developed. And the concluding hymn of the Book of Sirach is an adaptation of a psalm describing David's dedication to Wisdom.[41] It lacks the more complex relationships present in the extended development of the Book of Wisdom. Ps-Solomon develops a deeper theology of divine Wisdom. She takes the initiative in her

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[40]Published in J. A. Sanders, The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965); see remarks of A. Di Lella, CBQ 28 (1966) 92-95. This discovery provides better text than that of MS B from the Cairo geniza.

[41]See J. A. Sanders, "The Psalter at the Time of Christ," Bible Today 22 (February, 1966) 1462-1469, on p. 1468. W. L. Knox sees all Old Testament wisdom hymns as later interpolations under the influence of the Isis cult, "The Divine Wisdom," JTS 38 (1937) 230-237, but he admits that literary dependence is evident only in the Book of Wisdom, pp. 230-232.

union with those to whom she wishes to give herself (6.13); she has already begun to communicate her gifts before her devotee is conscious of her influence (7.12); she is the source of all virtue (8.7); no man can even know God's will without her (9.17). Faced by rival religious appeals in Hellenism, Ps-Solomon adopts apologetical methods of the diaspora Jews,[42] found in writers like Philo the Elder, Eupolemus, and in the Letter of Aristeas. This preoccupation is absent from the Hebrew wisdom hymns, and even from the Sage's own personification of the divine word later in his work (18.15-25).

The most satisfactory explanation for his presentation of divine Wisdom and the need of union with her to achieve man's true destiny is a conscious effort to offset the appeal of the literature of the revived Isis cult. Too many affinities between the vocabulary and method of composition exist for them to be

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[42]See Peter Dalbert, Die Theologie der hellenistisch-jüdischen Missionsliteratur unter Ausschluss von Philo und Josephus (Hamburg-Volksdorf, 1954). He cites the author of Wis as one of those using this apologetical method, pp. 70-92. In these verses Wis raises the problem of grace without fully attempting to resolve the mystery. On this point his work contains "difficulties of expression" in 6.16; 9.17, according to Annie Jaubert, La Notion d'Alliance dans le Judaisme (Paris: Seuil, 1963) 424, (Abbreviated: Notion)

attributed to chance. At his time the ancient Egyptian goddess was honored as the giver of wisdom; even her name was linked to the Greek verb οἶδα "know."[43] Later in his work the Sage will attack idolatry and decry its harm (chs. 13-15), but in the "book of Wisdom proper" (6.12-16 + 6.21-10.21) his approach is to describe the upright man's desire for union with God in the terminology of the deeply religious hymns composed in honor of Isis. God offers men the intimacy and comfort that the pious heroes of sacred history found through the activity of divine Wisdom.

In pursuit of his goal, Ps-Solomon avoids the more concrete personification found in the Hebrew wisdom hymns;[44] instead, he adopts a more universalizing and mystical approach that identifies Wisdom intimately with the nature and activity of God in the world. She is "vapor of the power of God and an unadulterated emanation of the Almighty's glory . . . radiance

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[43]See Plutarch, Isis et Osiris 2 (351e).

[44]Ralph Marcus, "On Biblical Hypostases of Wisdom," HUCA 33 (1951) 1. 157-171, agrees with H. Ringgren that traces of Greek philosophy in the presentation of Wisdom can be found only in the Book of Wisdom. He would interpret the picture of Wisdom in Prv 8.30 on the basis of Wis 7.21, as craftsman.

of everlasting Light and spotless mirror of the activity of God and image of his goodness" (7.25-26). For such abstractions the Hebrew hymns offer no true parallels. These are truly divine qualities that contrast significantly with mere similes, such as the description of wisdom as the "mist covering the earth" (Sir 24.3) or as a blossoming tree (Sir 24.17). For Ps-Solomon Wisdom, like God, transcends created limitations; hence she can be sent to make friends for him down through the ages, while she never changes within herself (7.27). She is not simply the teacher who shows men the way to God and who rewards the just man's efforts and who is found in the midst of the chosen people (Sir 24. 8, 12). Rather, she enters into a συμβίωσις "community of life" with the individual just man (8.3, 9, 16).[45] Her dynamic presence is what enables the just man to enter into his divine destiny as described in the opening chapters of the book. Not only does divine Wisdom enjoy essentially divine qualities, she also shares in God's creative

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[45] Symbios is the ordinary, hellenistic term for "spouse." See J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," REG 74 (1961) no. 79; 75 (1962) no. 292. This common sexual image from Greek literature never appears in the Bible. The abstract noun appears as a variant on Sir 34 (31) 22 in Codex B, but in the sense of "livelihood."

activity (8.4), which is also the first manifestation of his saving will, "because God created man in a state of incorruption" (2.23).[46] Wisdom's activity continues throughout the just man's life until she brings him to salvation (9.18).

Through his abstract method of presenting divine Wisdom Ps-Solomon has found a means of preserving the absolute transcendence of the unique God of revelation while at the same time offering in attractive imagery the possibility of intimate personal communion with him. And he does so within the framework of traditional piety, without resorting to the allegorizing of Scripture to which Philo would later have recourse. He meets the needs of cultured, contemporary believers by what P. Dalbert styles a hortatory, apologetic, and missionary method, because he was able to formulate a brilliant presentation of divine Wisdom as the "acme" of God's self-revelation, for "she is basically God himself in his work in and regarding

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[46]Wis 8.4 is the only Old Testament text that clearly attributes a creative role to Wisdom; contrast Sir 24.8-9 and Prv 8.22-26. The exact meaning of Prv 8.30 is disputed, but H. Cazelles shows that the total context demands "infant," rather than "craftsman," in "L'enfantement de la Sagesse en Prov 8," Sacra Pagina (Gembloux, 1959) 1.511-515.

the world"[47] By utilizing his acquaintance with hellenistic philosophy and religious literature, he was capable of dealing in a profound way with the question of man's relationship with God, of defining it in more precise terms, and thus of presenting a better description of man's union with God.[48]

The following pages will show by a detailed comparison of texts that Ps-Solomon borrowed vocabulary and presentation from the literature of the hellenized Isis cult which started to flourish in Egypt and the Aegean area during the second century B.C. as a result of efforts by the priests of Isis to enlarge her worship among the cosmopolitan Greek populace. Instrumental in the diffusion of this cult were the aretalogies, or

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[47]Peter Dalbert, op. cit., 72-90, especially pp. 72 and 90. He notes his agreement with J. Fichtner's judgment on Wis 7.25-30, which he summarizes. Like F. Focke, Dalbert sees the influence of the Isis cult on Wis as certain, but neither attempts a detailed comparison.

[48]See, for example, B. Botte, "La Sagesse dans les livres sapientiaux," Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques 19 (1930) 83-94, and Donato Gallucci, "Filosofia greca e sapienza ebrica," Scuola Cattolica 58 (1930) 197-230; 336-361, especially 349-351. Yet these articles fail to do justice to the different approach of the Book of Wisdom and consequently ignore the profound difference in the treatment of Wisdom.

praises of the glories of Isis. An original version was evidently inscribed in her temple, but it was frequently copied and adapted for use in places where her cult flourished. Copies have been found in Africa, Asia Minor, the Aegean Islands, and the mainland of Greece. Sources available for the comparison are: the hymn from Ios,[49] the Cyme hymn,[50] the Andros hymn,[51] the Chalkis inscription,[52] a broken tablet from Cyrene,[53] and two metrical hymns found in the excavations at Madinet Nadi, Egypt, in 1936.[54] In addition, the following literary sources

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[49]Text in IG 12, part 5 no. 14, and reprinted after no. 739. It is treated in the supplement to IG 12, pp. 98-99.

[50]Text in P. Roussel, "Un nouvel hymne à Isis," REG 42 (1929) 137-168. Variations in this version of the aretalogy are found at Ietica and Thessalonica. See supplement to IG 12, pp. 98-99.

[51]Text in IG 12, part 5 no. 739. The Isis literature available at the time was collected into a single volume by W. Peek, Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte Texte (Berlin, 1930).

[52]Text in R. Harder, Karpokrates von Chalkis und die memphitische Isispropaganda (Berlin, 1943). See also text and comments by L. Robert, REG 59-60 (1945-46), who dates this inscription from the early fourth century A.D.

[53]Text in P. Roussel, art. cit., 149-151; it dates from 103 A. D. Text also in SIG 9. 192.

[54]Texts in SIG 8 (1937) no. 548-549.

that deal with Isis will be used in the comparison: the text of an inscription given in Diodorus Siculus, who says that at his time it was faded and only partly legible,[55] two hymns of the Cretan poet Mesomedes, discovered in the Vatican Library in 1903,[56] the last part of the Kore Kosmou,[57] and the Isis litany found at Oxyrhynchus.[58]

The Ios hymn was styled an aretalogy by one of its editors, Frederic Hiller von Gaertringen.[59] The designations of hymn and aretalogy have been used almost synonymously, although E. des Places reserves the latter for prose compositions composed

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[55]Diodorus Siculus 1.27.

[56]Texts in J. U. Powell, Collectanea Alexandrina (Oxford, 1925) 197-199.

[57]Text in A. D. Nock and A. J. Festugière, Corpus Hermeticum (Paris, 1945-1954) 4.fragment 33 nos. 65-68; see also A. J. Festugière, "L'arétalogie Isiaque de la 'Korè Kosmou'," Revue Archéologique, 6th ser., 29-30 (1949) 376-381.

[58]Text in B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, Oxyrhynchus Papyri 11. 1380. See also the recently found 14-line fragment in E. Heitsch, "PSI VII 844, ein Isishymnus," MusHel 17 (1960) 185-188.

[59]In his introduction to the text in the third edition of Dittenberger, SIG (Leipzig, 1920) 1267; F. Hiller von Gaertringen edited this edition. Original ed. in IG. The text dates from the third century A.D. (see n. 49).

to praise the goddess for her inventions and other benefits for mankind.[60] No matter what terminology is used, A. J. Festugière has demonstrated in an important study of this literature that, in spite of their apparent disorder, the aretalogies follow the pattern of the classical Greek hymn. The body consists of three parts: (1) a statement about the nature of Isis; (2) a description of her powers or of her "virtues," that is, her wondrous deeds for men; (3) a listing of her "works," especially the inventions by which she aided the progress of the human race.[61]

The "book of Wisdom proper" (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21) follows the same pattern in presenting divine Wisdom. Ps-Solomon treats: (1) the nature of Wisdom, "what Wisdom is" (6.22), primarily in the passage 7.22--8.1; (2) her wondrous deeds in

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[60] E. des Places, "Hymnes grecs au seuil de l'ère chrétienne," Bib 38 (1957) 113-129, on p. 124. A. D. Nock simply uses the generic terminology "praises of Isis."

[61] A. J. Festugière, "A propos des arétalogies d'Isis," HTR 42 (1949) 209-234. (Abbreviated: "Isis"). He states that the apparent confusion of the parts seems to be the result of frequent copying of the originals. However, at times they may also be the result of additions or of transpositions on the basis of the judgment of the scribes, who felt that a particular line fit better in a different place in the poem.

favor of men, that is, "how she came about" for just men (6.22), which he explains in 8.2-18; (3) her benefits for just men from the creation of Adam until the time of the exodus. He promises to relate them "from the beginning of creation" (6.22), and carries out this plan in chapter 10.[62]

Ps-Solomon, however, has adapted the structure of the hellenistic aretalogy by two additions, namely, by an introduction to himself (7.1-22a), and by a prayer for divine Wisdom (9.1-18). These insertions not only distinguish the nature of his quest for Wisdom from the self-sufficient pagan attitude but also enable him to engraft new ideas into traditional Jewish piety. The introduction is divided into three strophes: (a) he insists upon his intrinsic personal weakness (7.1-6); (b) he explains that he can be the teacher of Wisdom only because he has already been taught by her (7.7-14); (c) he begs God to give him the power to speak in a way that will communicate all the gifts that Wisdom has brought to him (7.15-22a).[63]

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[62]For the translation of γένεσις (6.22) here as "creation," see E. Gärtner, Komposition 22 and 142.

[63]See E. Gärtner, ibid., 27-28. Note that Gärtner arrived at a similar conclusion on the unity of these chapters on the basis of a logical analysis. The proposal here to see the influence of the structure of the aretalogy offers another argument that chapter 10 was originally part of "the book of Wisdom proper," not a later addition.

These reflections on the paradox that the just man experiences the effects of divine Wisdom before he is aware of them prepares for the second addition, namely, the prayer that develops the truth that even the perfect man "would be esteemed as nothing" without her (9.6). It is clear, then, that Ps-Solomon imitates pagan forms only to convey more adequately the truth that the God of revelation is both the unique source of man's whole existence and the ultimate goal of his true religious aspirations. In the same spirit he carefully designates the recipients of this divine Wisdom, namely, the wise man par excellence, King Solomon, and the just men of sacred history from Adam to Moses. They are types of the "simplicity of heart" necessary in seeking God (1.1). Ps-Solomon teaches that a true seeking after God is not an activity on the level of purely personal religion. It does not originate in man's personal resources, but is rather an "association" with Wisdom (8.18),[64] in which the God who has favored men

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[64]The image of "association" κοινωνία is found in Greek literature since Pindar, and appears in Philodemus and in Ps-Aristotle, De mundo 401a22. In the LXX the noun occurs only in Lev 5.21 to translate a Hebrew hapax meaning "pledge."

enables them to enjoy the eternal destiny described in the first part of this book. By explicitly subordinating the encyclopedic knowledge esteemed so highly in Hellenism to intimate religious experience, the author makes use of the terminology found in the praises of Isis, who was then venerated as the founder of scientific knowledge for mankind.[65]

At the same time these two additions serve to link divine Wisdom inseparably with the personal God of history. Ps-Solomon rejects all systems of mediators between the divine and matter that had been introduced into philosophy and religious speculation by men who felt that it was impossible or undignified for the supreme deity to act immediately in the world.[66] If men are saved by Wisdom (9.18), she must in some way be

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[65]See A. J. Festugière, La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste 1.41. F. Focke, Entstehung, 106-109, discusses the hellenistic influence on this presentation of wisdom. M. J. Lagrange compares the attributes given by divine Wisdom to the entire range of late Greek philosophical learning, "Le Livre de la Sagesse. Sa doctrine des fins dernières," RB 16 (1907) 85-104, on pp. 86-88. None of these authors compare the presentation of Wis with the Isis literature.

[66]See J. Fichtner, "Die Stellung der Sapientia Salomonis in der Literature-und Geistesgeschichte ihrer Zeit," ZNW 36 (1937) 113-132, on p. 130. A similar polemic is developed in Wis 13.1-9, which will be treated below.

identified with God, not distinct from him; in her he accomplishes his divine plan. The description of her activities is necessarily linked to this world (8.2-18) because men achieve true "immortality" and everlasting "glory" (8.16-18)[67] only by making use of the things that God has created for their use in this life. And to teach them that they can do so only because God gives the power, he appropriately adds the prayer for divine Wisdom immediately after describing her deeds in favor of mankind.[68] In this prayer he prolongs his praise of her favors toward the ideal Sage and shows that the final goal of all her activity is salvific. This role is spelled out in detail in the final chapter of the "book of Wisdom proper" by the description of her role in sacred history (10.1-21), which W. L. Knox calls "practically an aretalogy."[69]

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[67]The term used for "glory" is εὐκλεια a noun found in the Bible again only in 2 Mc6.19. It is common in pagan literature, where it is applied to Artemis and Zeus, and is also personified; see L-S-J, p. 718. The corresponding adjective, used of the eternal fruit given to the just in Wis 3.15, appears elsewhere in the Old Testament only in Jer 31.17 LXX (48.17).

[68]See E. Gärtner, Komposition, 33, for an analysis of the prayer. It comes after the description of the qualities of Wisdom that make Ps-Solomon desire her for himself.

[69]Wilfred L. Knox, Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity (London: British Academy, 1944) 38. Actually the literary genre of Wis 10 should be treated in connection with the entire "book of Wisdom proper," as will be shown in Chapter III of this study.

When considered as a unified composition, the picture of divine Wisdom that emerges bears remarkable similarities to the universalized Isis to whom pious contemporary pagans were turning as the great architect of their culture and the watchful guardian of civilization. The one decisive difference from this highly individualized goddess has already been noted: Ps-Solomon takes great pains to show that divine Wisdom is no second god. She is intimately associated with the transcendent activity of the one true creator, because she is the "unadulterated emanation of the Almighty's glory" (7.25) and "radiance of everlasting Light" (7.26). Hence, she surpasses Isis, "who dwelt in the rays of the sun,"[70] because the "emanation" of Wisdom is not of a physical, material nature, but of an eminent

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[70]Cyme inscription, vs 43. Coming as the climax of the development on light in 7.25-8.1, the underlying figure in 8.1 seems to be a comparison of the all-pervading influence of divine Wisdom with the rays of the sun, a comparison used also of Isis. See F. Cumont, Les Religions orientales dans le paganism romain (Paris, 1929) 66, 106, 123. The idea of the sun as avenging wrongs was widespread in late Hellenism; see F. Cumont, "Deux monuments des cultes solaires," Syria 14 (1933) 381-395. One of these inscriptions bears a plea for help against those who have abused ἀνόμοις χερσίν "with lawless hands," a phrase found in the Bible only in Wis 15.17.

moral purity.[71] Although she offers the just man many helps necessary for the good life on this earth, he seeks her primarily because she "fashions friends of God and prophets" (7.27).[72] Because God loves only "him who is wedded to Wisdom" (7.28), man's religious quest for perfection is accomplished only when she becomes for him what she is for God, the "throne-partner" (6.14 and 9.4).

The following similarities indicate that Ps-Solomon deliberately expressed his teaching on divine Wisdom in language being employed in the praises of Isis. The comparison follows the three parts of the aretalogy given above:

I. Nature of Wisdom		Nature of Isis	
6.14; 9.4:	throne-partner πάρεδρος	Andros 139; Cyme 45.	
6.22:	author's aim is to give knowledge of Wisdom.	Cyme 38:	without knowledge of Isis no one is glorified.

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[71]The imagery of "emanations" is found in kingship literature, where the ideal king radiates enlightment for his people. L. Delatte, Les Traités de la Royauté d'Ecphante, Diotogène et Sthénidas (Liége, 1942) 198; he traces the image to Plato, Phaedrus 247b-d, 250c. "Unadulterated" εἰλικρινής (7.25) is a common hellenistic designation for moral purity.

[72]By using the combination "friends of God and prophets," the author sought to show a kinship between the religious ideas of Plato and the Bible, according to Stella Lange, "The Wisdom of Solomon and Plato," JBL 55 (1936) 293-308, on p. 301.

7.9: is more desirable than thrones, gold, silver.	Cyme 26: makes the just man stronger than gold and silver.[73]
7.10: her radiance is better than the sun.	Madi 551.32: more beautiful than sun's radiance.
7.15: God is ὁδηγος "guide" of (see 9.11; 10.10).	Oxy. litany 122: as title of Isis.
7.22: is holy ἅγιος	Oxy. litany 36,38,39; Madi 550.2: as a title.
7.22: clear ἀφής and distinct τρανός (see 10.21, makes mouths distinct).	See Cyrene 9, 14: makes writing lucid and helps men know clearly.
7.22: beneficient εὐεργετικός	Oxy. litany 247: noun as title of Isis.
7.22: crafts-woman τεχνῖτις also in 8.6; 14.2.	See Kore Kosmou 64: masculine of God.
7.22: taught author.	Cyme 11; Ios 17; Cyrene 12.
7.24: penetrates all by her purity καθαρεύτης	Oxy. litany 175; Chalcis 9: purifies everything.[74]

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[73]This is a common hellenistic theme; see A. J. Festugière, "Isis," HTR 42 (1949) 224.

[74]See Plutarch, Isis and Osiris 77, that garments of Isis give insight into purity; see A. Jaubert, Notion, 424.

7.25: emanation of the glory of God as the Almighty: παντοκράτωρ	Kore Kosmou 61, 64: prayer for emanation of God. Oxy. litany 20: title in fem.
7.26: reflection of eternal Light.	Oxy. litany 248: of light; Mesomedes 1.16: enlightens world.
7.27: although has many activities is one: μία δὲ οὖσα	Cyrene 6: same phrase, "but being one."
7.29: brighter than sun, moon, and every setting of the stars.	Oxy. litany 129: brightness; Cyme 11; Ios 17: guides the stars.
7.29: never extinguished.	See Mesomedes 1.16.
8.1: extends to the ends of the earth.	Madi 550. 20-21, 25: reaches ends of universe; Cyrene 5: sees whole earth. Cyme 45.
8.1: rules all graciously.	Cyme 10: brings order; see Oxy. litany 158-59.
8.2: bride νύμφη	Oxy. litany 30, 85: title.
8.4: is initiate μύστις	Oxy. litany 111: title.

II. Powers or "virtues" of Wisdom	of Isis
7.17-19: has power over elements, over year and stars (see 8.8).	See Oxy. litany 172-174, 227-230, 237-339; 204: founded great year; Ios 17; Cyrene 11, 16: comands stars.
7.17: taught the σύστασις κόσμου	Kore Kosmou 52: same phrase: "constitution of the world."
7.18: knows beginning and end of seasons.	Plutarch, Isis and Osiris 77: has control over every "beginning and end."
7.27: makes prophets.	Kore Kosmou: same power.
7.27: can do everything; renews all things (see 8.5).	Cyrene 15: nothing comes about without her.
8.4: is one who chooses God's works.	See Cyme 13: founded works of the sea.
8.5: in her is all wealth "in life" ἐν βίῳ.	Cyme 5, 12: gives all fruits of life; Madi 549.21: gives wealth.
8.8: knows "seasons" καιρός.	Chalcis 3: is all seasons.
8.8: solves riddles.	See Kore Kosmou 66.
8.8: divines the future.	Chalcis 9: ways of divining.
7.20: teaches about different plants and roots.	Madi 548.8: teaches nature of plants; see Plutarch,

	Isis and Osiris 53.
See 14.1-5: shows how to control the sea.[75]	Cyme 13, 37, 41, 48; Madi 548.31; Oxy. litany 153; Mesomedes 1.3-14.
III. Work for Benefit of Just Man	of all Mankind
8.7: gives prudence (see 7.16; 8.6, 16).	Oxy. litany 34, 40, 60, 124: prudence as title.
8.9: gives comfort in sorrow; (see 8.16).	Madi 550.6: frees men of sorrow and bitterness
8.10: gives glory among men; see 8.3, 8-11; 10.14.	Cyme 38: "no one is glorified without knowing me."
8.13, 17: gives immortality	Chalcis 8; Oxy. litany 242-247; Diodorus Siculus 1.25.
8.14: gives power to rule; see 9.4, 9, 12.	Cyme 2, 27; see Ios 7-10; Andros 160; Kore Kosmou 65-67.
(see 11.3)	Madi 548.4-5; see Cyme 36: honors just retaliation.

[75]This passage that alludes to Noah is the only place after Wis 10 where wisdom is mentioned in the book; but this is the practical wisdom spoken of in the first part, not divine Widom of "the book of Wisdom proper." However, the two historical digressions, namely, the aside of Enoch (4.10-14a) in his treatment of immortality, and the rescue of Noah (14. 3-7) in the section on idolatry, serve as unifying factors to tie together his disparate material.

8.15: inspires fear in tyrants.	Cyme 1, 23: ended tyranny.
8.15: makes wise man brave in war.	Cyme 39; Oxy. litany 158; see Madi 550.16: Lady of war.
8.16: gives "good cheer" εὐφροσύνη.	Madi 548.16; Oxy. litany 19, 31: title of Isis.
8.18: gives good delight.	Madi 549.4: Makes all delight.
8.18: wealth is in "toils" πόνοι of her hands.	Cyrene 9: gained reward of toil.
9.6: without her even perfect man is nothing.	Cyme 45: one who glorifies her is perfect.
9.14: men need her because they are wretched δειλοί.	Mesomedes 1.24: asked to pity the bonds of wretches.
10.1-21: presented as Savior in long development using anaphora: σύ 6 times.	Oxy. litany 55; Madi 548.13: title; see anaphora in Kore Kosmou: Isis and Osiris 11 times.
10.2: strengthens men who are perishing; see 10.3, 6, 10.	Oxy. litany 239; see Madi 548. 25, 31; Andros 158.
10.4: as pilot.	Oxy. litany 188-189.

10.17: became glittering of stars to guide men.	See Oxy. litany 158-159.
10.20: those she saved praise God ὁμοθύμαδον.	See Madi 550.15: men listen "with one accord."
7.2: author is born in the tenth month δεκαμηνιαῖος (biblical hapax).	Cyme 16: patroness of child-birth; brings forth the "ten-month" fetus.
7.17: gives knowledge that is "reliable" ἀψευδής.	Mesomedes 1.11: Isis has a "reliable" tongue.
8.19: Ps-Solomon had "spotless" ἀμίαντον body.	Oxy. litany 109: title of Isis.

In addition, the address by Ps-Solomon to τύραννοι "monarchs" (6.9, 21) recalls the fact that Isis both calls herself a "monarch" (Cyme 1; Cyrene 14) and boasts that she has put an end to tyranny (Cyme 23; Ox. litany 239-243; see Wis 8.15). It is also worthy of note that vocabulary characteristic of the Isis literature is found in other parts of Wis. Just as Isis is worshiped under many titles, so the biblical writer delights in giving new designations to the God of revelation.[76] Prayers

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[76]See Wis 1.6-10; 9.1; 11.26; 14.3; 19.1, and the series of 21 adjectives in 7.22-24. See R. Marcus, "Divine Names and Attributes in Hellenistic Jewish Literature," Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research 3 (1931-32) 43-120. The Oxyrhynchus papyrus opens with a long list of cult names.

are addressed to Isis "at the rising of the stars" (Oxy. litany 159-161), and the manna teaches that God should be invoked before "the rising of the sun" (16.28). The Sage's frequent use of water for his comparisons parallels the relation of Isis to the sea and sailing. Isis guides the "keel" πρότις (Andros 153), an Ionian term used in the Bible only in Wis 5.10. One of the reasons why God destroyed the Canaanites was their "man-eating rites" (12.5), a motive not given in the Mosaic books. By adding this detail a parallel is provided to the picture of Isis as influential in the progress of civilization, because she put an end to cannibalism.[77]

This long treatment of the "book of Wisdom proper" (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21) has offered evidence to show that the literature of the Isis cult influenced this extended presentation of divine Wisdom. Ps-Solomon was composing a practical religious guide to show the wise man what he must do in this life to reach eternal union with God. Before concluding, however, the question as to why Ps-Solomon adopted this distinctive approach

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[77]See Cyme 19; Ios 25; Madi 550.16. D. Gill, "The Greek Sources of Wisdom 12.3-7," Vetus Testament 15 (1965) 383-386, sees Greek tragedy as the ultimate source of this vocabulary.

in this one part of the book deserves consideration. Obviously he wanted to trace back to the God of the fathers all wisdom, not only contemporary scientific knowledge of the universe but also, and more important, access to immortality (8.13, 17; see 6.21). But more, he wished to do so by using the very vocabulary of hellenistic religion so that he could reject its boast that Greek culture surpassed "barbarian" learning.[78] He thus reassures his readers that Jewish believers have no need to fear cultural progress or to feel ashamed and inferior before their sophisticated pagan contemporaries. As explained above, this method was in use among Jews during the hellenistic period. The Sage simply adapts it to his very practical religious apologetic to provide encouragement for those exposed to pagan influences.

In drawing upon the deep religious experience of pagan contemporaries and using their writings to describe the saving

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[78]See Moses Hadas, "Plato in Hellenistic Fusion," Journal of the History of Ideas 19 (1958) 3-13, and Thomas Finan, "Hellenistic Humanism in the Book of Wisdom," ITQ 27 (1960) 30-48. The Book of Wisdom represents a more religious and bookish and less missionary form of the propaganda that gradually led to the compilation of texts to prove that the Greeks borrowed from Moses. See Clement of Alexandria, Stromates 1.59-80.

will of the personal God of creation, he is moved by a desire to communicate his own "deeply felt call to traditional piety," firmly convinced that his people have a unique privilege in their duty to make shine before all ages "the incorruptible light of the Law" (18.4).[79] By adopting this openness toward pagan achievement without compromising the historical nature of revealed religion, he is able to preserve both the transcendence of God and his immanence with respect to the world. Since the integrating factor of his synthesis is the Jewish concept of the omnipotent, personal God, he praises God's wisdom and power as having absolute control over the material universe and as being the source of cosmic harmony. It flows, therefore, from his understanding of a relation between God and the world, a mystery that Greek philosophy never adequately explained.[80]

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[79]The phrase is from Moses Hadas, ibid., 9. This traditional piety is evident in the comparisons in Wis 11.1-15 and 16.1--19.21. See G. F. Moore, Judaism 1.363, 380; 2.393-394.

[80]See P. Heinisch, Philosophie 46-49. He cites Wis 1.14; 6.7, 22; 9.1, 9; 13.5; 16.24 as showing that the author considered not only second creation, that is, the adornment of the universe, as dependent upon the God of revelation, but also first creation, the creation of matter itself. The repetition of this teaching throughout the book is another argument for unity of authorship. In Greek philosophy matter itself escaped the control of the deity, but the Jews believed that God was in no way limited by creation. See below, note 93.

The Sage returns to this relationship is the short philosophical development of 13.1-9, which admirably complements the "book of Wisdom proper," and which must now be studied in detail.

B. Evaluation of the Philosophical Quest for God (13.1-9)

In this short pericope concerned with the search for God in and through nature, the Sage provides a penetrating critique of philosophical religion relevant even today.[81] This self-contained period is skillfully isolated by the use of inclusion,[82] with the phrase "were competent to know so much" (13.9) recalling the words "were competent to know him who is" (13.1). Its style and method of reasoning are so typically philosophical that it could have been composed only by a person acquainted with the speculation that is characteristic of hellenistic theosophy. And, since "none of the characteristics of

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[81]Compare Odo Brooke, "Natural Revelation in the Supernatural Existential," Downside Review 83 (1965) 201-212.

[82]The technique of returning at the conclusion of a passage to a word used at its beginning is found in both Greek and Semitic literature. The Greeks isolated rhetorical periods in this way. According to M. J. Lagrange in Saint Paul, épître aux Romains, xlix, the modern term "inclusion" was coined by D. H. Müller.

Greek philosophy is found in the Hebrew Bible,"[83] the Sage shows an independence from other biblical writers and reveals serious scholastic training. Joseph Smith, S.J., has called attention to some of the philosophical elements of this passage in connection with his study of Wis 13.9, but the piece has never been fully analyzed with a view of showing its learned style.[84] Before treating its content, then, it will be instructive first to discuss its form.

1. Philosophical Presentation of Wis 13.1-9

This pericope is an excellent example of a classical Greek "period," that is, a short rhetorical development easily grasped as a unit by the mind,[85] and often beginning and ending on the same topic. The movement is that of a typical philosophical diatribe: presentation of the thesis (13.1-5), followed by an objection from the imaginary adversary (13.6-7), and concluding with an answer to this difficulty and the climax of

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[83]William F. Albright, History, Archeology and Christian Humanism (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964) 91.

[84]Joseph Smith, "De interpretatione Sap 13.9," VD 17 (1949) 287-290. This article has analyzed the pericope carefully. Because the Sage constructs his argument carefully, it is necessary to follow his reasoning closely to understand the force of his argument. This is why the form of the pericope is treated before dealing with the subject matter.

[85]See Aristotle, Rhetoric 1409a35.

the argument (13.8-9). The thesis consists of an attack upon pagan cosmologists; they are condemned for worshiping elements of the cosmos. The supposed antagonist both introduces the motive on which he bases his objection with the thoroughly Greek nuance καὶ γάρ and softens it with a particle common in the technical jargon of philosophical tracts, τάχα "perhaps" (13.6). It appears nowhere else in the Old Testament.[86] This particle sets up an ironic play on words with τάχιον (13.9). The implication, which is hard to convey in translation, is that advances in human speculation should have brought knowledge of God to philosophers both "quickly" and "easily," for both ideas are included in this adverb. The trenchant rhetorical question closing the pericope is not meant to excuse them but to cap the climax of their condemnation.

The objection presented is that "perhaps" those pagans who have been so carried away as to worship objects or elements of the world are not doing anything that merits blame. Because they are searching for the divine,. they should be pardoned as

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[86]For a similar use of "perhaps," see Philodemus, On Death 39.17. The particle καὶ γάρ occurs 11 times in the last eight chapters of Wis; before this it is found only in 3.4.

sincere in their error. But the Sage counters with a strong denial, which he introduces with the technical particle used for responding to an objection, πάλιν "on the contrary" (13.8). He denies that in this matter even those who seem to be sincere are pardonable. Then he frames his blanket condemnation so as to include the most objectionable type of nature worship, that which adores Eon, although it had not been explicitly mentioned.[87] The extreme compression of the composition is typical of a scholastic composition in which the argument centers around principles. And so the pericope can end abruptly because the opponent cannot gainsay the implied principle, namely, that any so-called search for God in which he is confused with matter in any way is not truly sincere. A god that is part of the process cannot be God. The more capable of penetrating the lofty spheres of the cosmos men become, the more conscious they should be that the universe depends upon a transcendent creator. The Sage proclaims the primacy of the spirit;

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[87] See J. Smith, art. cit., VD 17 (1949) 287-290, and E. des Places, De Libro Sapientiae (Rome, 1965) 14. The question of Eon will be treated in detail in the next section.

materialism cannot plead sincerity.[88] This line of reasoning flows naturally from the reflections in 12.2-27, in which the Sage has described God's efforts to convert sinners to himself.[89] But a more careful analysis of the content of this pericope must now be undertaken to show that the Sage was actually arguing in the manner proposed here.

2. Philosophical Subject Matter in Wis 13.1-9

Certain aspects of the "hellenistic-philosophical element" in this rhetorical period have been pointed out by commentators on Wis, and by E. Norden in comparing it to Rom 1.18-22,[90] but the pericope has never been studied primarily to explain this element. Such a study is necessary to obtain an understanding of the Sage's evaluation of philosophical religious speculation and of its value in guiding men to union with God.

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[88]See his opinion that those who reject Wisdom cannot even know what is noble (10.8); see also section 2b below.

[89]Compare the similarity of terminology in 12.24 and 13.3; 12.27 and 13.1; statements on God's power in 12.17-18 and 13.4; God as unique ruler in 12.16 and 13.9.

[90]E. Norden, Agnostos Theos, 129-143.

To reach a conclusion, we will investigate six areas where the influence of philosophy is manifest:

a) The meaning of the expression τὸν ὄντα "him who is" in 13.1. The Sage is aware of the difference in meaning that the expression has in the Platonic tradition, as a technical term for the real or true Being, and in the LXX, where it designates the personal God who revealed himself to the chosen people as the God of their fathers (Ex 3.14).[91] In the former tradition the designation "He who is" was applied to the "super-intelligible principle," and efforts to contemplate this deity motivated much of late hellenistic mysticism.[92]

How then can the Sage say that the pagans who contemplated nature "were not competent to know him who is," when this term was the philosophical designation of the deity? The answer is

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[91]See G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 45, who sees Platonic influence here and notes the difference between the philosophical and biblical meanings of the term. He does not, however, explain the significance of this difference for the argument of Wis. Grimm correctly compares this passage with Philo's designation of pagans as those who do not know "the one who really is," Das Buch der Weisheit 45.

[92]See A. J. Festugière, RHT 4.79-91, especially p. 89. He traces this piety to the Platonic conception of the "flight" to the realm of the divine, accomplished by striving to "resemble God as much as possible" (Theatetus 176a-b; see Rep 613a-b). See also A. H. Chroust, art. cit., Thomist 17 (1954) 234-235.

that he rejects this understanding of the divine in the light of the revelation of the personal God. In other words, he insists that "he who is" can be no other than the "craftsman" of all things (13.1). In Greek philosophy matter always remained the irrational element, existing independently of the divine intellectual principle, which was not the cause of matter itself, but was able to some extent to harness it and organize it into a cosmos. For pagan thinkers the divinity was not the unique, transcendent, ultimate cause and creator of all.[93] The Sage was aware of this fact and rejects it categorically. He is not approving the teaching of Plato, as Ziener interprets the title,[94] for that would invalidate the entire argument. While admitting that pagan philosophers were seeking the divine in some way, the Sage nevertheless criticizes them as "foolish," because they are not seeking the true God according to divine Wisdom, without which even the most perfect among men "will be esteemed as nothing" (9.6). He judges the search according to

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[93]For Plato, God seems to create the "ideas" but not the individual existing objects; see Rep 497c; Soph 266; Timaeus 30a-c; also Albinus, Introductio in Platonem, ch. 14. On the difficulties in interpreting Plato's theories of creation see E. A. Taylor, Plato, the Man and His Work, 442-444.

[94]Georg Ziener, Begriffssprache 45.

his "inflexible religious purpose,"[95] and concludes that pagan philosophy failed to know and to worship the Creator. His rejection in principle of philosophical religion is not superficial; rather it is the fruit of an accurate and penetrating understanding of its inadequacy as the basis for union with the one true God.

b) The designation of God the Creator as τεχνίτης "craftsman" (13.1). This title is never used of God elsewhere in the Old Testament, but was associated with the divinity in Greek philosophical thought since Anaxagoras.[96] At first sight it may seem that the Sage was condemning only those who worshipped particular elements, but the following considerations indicate that in the context the choice of this term implies a polemic against the principle of philosophical religion.

His approach can be understood better by contrasting it with St. Paul's condemnation of the pagans for having rejected

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[95]J. A. F. Gregg, quoted in J. Reider, The Book of Wisdom, 131. For the interaction of piety and wisdom see Wis 10.12; 12.23; 14.12, 30.

[96]Anaxagoras, fr.46a, Diels, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker 2.19.6, says that nous yoked the "craftsman" to matter. A. Delatte notes that the term is a late hellenistic substitute for the more common "demiurgos," Traités, 101. To the texts in A-G, 821-822, add Epictetus, 1.6.7, quoted in Grimm, 234.

God after knowing him (Rom 1.18-23). The Sage, on the contrary, condemns them for not finding him (13.9). The basis of the Pauline condemnation is the universal misuse by pagans of the nature given to them by God to know and serve him (see Rom 2.14), whereas Wis reasons from the nature of philosophical religion as such, a form of activity that limits itself to purely human resources and excludes the special help that God gives men to know him as he is.[97] The Sage argues that pagans could not have come to the saving knowledge of God by their own resources. Yet, by a proper use of intelligence they could have understood that the universe cannot be God or part of God; he must transcend the cosmic process. At that point, with good will they would have been open to revelation and salvation. Hence, they are morally responsible for all forms of nature worship and idolatry. And so, despite their differences of approach, both biblical authors agree in asserting the need of good will on the part of men to be able to worship God as he wishes.[98] To

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[97]See H. P. Owen, "The Scope of Natural Revelation in Rom I and Acts 17," NTS 5 (1958-59) 133-134. Because of the different approaches, any influence of Wis on Rom is denied by E. Gärtner, Komposition, 92-93, and F. Focke, Entstehung, 120-3.

[98]See E. des Places, op. cit., 15-17, for similarities and differences. The judgment that moral perversity causes ignorance of God permeates Wis; see J. Reider on Wis 12.2, p. 149. The Sage argues that God is not unknowable by nature, but only by man's "ignorance," that is, ill-will (13.1).

understand the strictly philosophical method of argument in this pericope, the tension between the two ways it designates God must be kept in mind. The Sage is saying that the philosophers who thought that they had found "him who is," were mistaken because they were not willing to recognize the nature of God as transcendent "craftsman," unique Creator of all.

c) "Ignorance of God" (13.1). This expression from hellenistic religious writings has been studied by E. Norden, who has shown that it is a technical term meaning "impiety." It is the equivalent of the Pauline phrase "impiety and wickedness" (Rom 1.18), by which he characterizes the conduct of paganism.[99] The choice of this expression is in keeping with the polemic against a search for God limited to natural resources. For the Sage, any effort to achieve union with God without divine help must necessarily fail.

d) Enumeration of the elements worshipped (13.2). In

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[99]E. Norden, op. cit., 129; see pp. 64, 96. He suggests that the Sage has chosen this term to condemn the approach. A more sympathetic approach to philosophy is found in Acts 17.22-31.

view of the philosophical nature of this pericope, the argument of H. P. Owen concerning the term "fire" is convincing. He sees it as an allusion to the world soul, conceived by the Stoics as refined material fire.[100] The Greeks had personified "air" at an early date, and it was eventually identified with Zeus.[101] The term "air is found only three times in the LXX, but for the pagans it was both a deity and the kingdom of the spirits.[102] The Sage borrows the language of astral piety, which underlies the term κοσμοκράτορες "moderators," never found elsewhere in the Bible.[103] He uses this word in opposition not only to the heavenly φωστῆρες "lights," that is, the sun and moon of Gen 1.14, but also to the "orbit of the stars" (13.2).[104]

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[100]H. P. Owen, art. cit., 142.

[101]See L-S-J, 30, quoting Philemo 91.4. The elements of fire, air, and water are associated in magic; see A-G, 19.

[102]See Albinus, op. cit., ch. 15. The LXX uses the term "air" only in Ps 17.11 = 2 Kg 22.12, and 2 Mc 5.2.

[103]For astral piety see Timaeus 40b; 47a-c; Cicero, De natura deorum 2.15.42; other references in Grimm, 235. A. J. Festugière treats the theory in RHT 2. 246-259.

[104]The LXX uses the term "lights" for sun and moon in Gen 1.14, 16, and for stars in Dan 12.3; see also A-G, 880. The classical Greek term "moderators," which was used of Zeus as early as Pindar, became a title for civil officials and military garrisons during the hellenistic era. E. Osty notes that astrology encouraged the cult of the stars, and cites as a parallel to Wis 13.2 Plutarch, De exilio 601a, BJ (Second fascicle ed.) 82.

Plato taught that the stars were "divine living bodies," and his ideas are reflected in the widespread popular beliefs that linked souls to stars. Both synonymous expressions to express belief used in this pericope, "believed to be gods" and "assumed to be gods" (13.2, 3), derive from pagan religious language; neither phrase is found in the LXX.[105]

Aristotle was the first to employ as technical philosophical the terms the words δύναμις καὶ ἐνέργεια "power and activity," used to describe the marvels of nature in Wis 13.4. They are frequent in hellenistic religious and astronomical writings.[106] The wide varieties of "powers" present in the cosmos prompted theories about the nature and activities of the gods. For example, the Neo-Phythagorean philosopher Ps-Onatas of the first century A.D. argued against the belief in a single deity on the basis of the many "powers" in the universe; they must belong to different gods.[107] And Albinus held that God made many gods to keep the cosmos together.[108]

[105]The Greek idiom is found in Herodotus, Xenophon, and Plato; to reference in L-S-J, 1179, add Aristeas 134. In contrast to this classical usage of ὑπολαμβάνω "assume" in Wis 12.24 and 13.3, the LXX employs the verb only in the sense of "answer" or "undertake," in keeping with the Semitic idiom.

[106]See Aristotle, Meta 1048a26 etc., in the sense of potency and act. For use in astronomy see Corpus Hermeticum 10.22 (Paris: Budé, 1954) 1.141. The term ἐνέργεια is used of manifestations of divine power by Chrysippus; see von Arnim, SVF 2.215. It appears in 2 Mc 3.29 and in 3 Mc, but not in any book translated from the Hebrew Bible.

[107]Text in Stobaeus 1.48; commentary by E. Norden, Agnostos Theos 39-40 and A. J. Festugière, RHT 4. 118-119.

[108]Albinus, Introductio in Platonem, ch. 15.

e) Type of argumentation (13.5). By asserting that pagans should have reached a knowledge of the strength and beauty of "the originator of beauty" γενεσιάρχης and the "original maker" γενεσιουργός of all things (13.3, 5)[109] by analogy, the Sage shows his knowledge of the logic being employed in hellenistic philosophy.[110] The argument from analogy, described by Albinus in his introduction to Plato, was a common method of proof in rhetorical exercises. As commentators on the Book of Wisdom have pointed out, the argument that the beauty of creatures demands the existence of a superior beauty as its source

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[109]This passage in Wis is the first recorded usage of both these words. It is possible that the Sage coined the former term to emphasize the absolute dominion of God over matter. The formation is that of a typical hellenistic substantized adjective, like ἐλεφαντάρχης "master of the elephants." The latter term appears also in hermetic writings and later philosophers as both substantive and adjective; see E. des Places, De Libro Sapientiae 12; he suggests that the author deliberately avoided the term demiurgos.

[110]See Albinus, op. cit., ch. 10. This form of argumentation is found in Plato, Rep 508a-c, and Aristotle, Rhet 2.23.1. Siegfried George, "Der Begriff analogos im Buch der Weisheit," in Parousia, ed. by Kurt Flasch (Frankfurt, 1965) 189-197, shows that Wis uses this term in its technical philosophical sense. George offers this passage as proof that the book is directed to a small "learned circle," p. 197. (Abbreviated: "Begriff"). The basis for applying this form of reasoning in the search for God is that the divine is ineffable; see A. J. Festugière, RHT 2. 413-414 and 4. 99, 117. To the examples in G. Ziener, Begriffssprache 132-135, add those in Philodemus, On Inference (ed. by P. H. and E. A. DeLacy) 14, 188.

is Greek rather than biblical.[111] In fact, the first answer to the question of how men arrive at the concept of the divine in the Placita Philosophorum is, "From the beauty of things that are visible."[112] And Ps-Aristotle's De mundo arrived at the contemplation of God by going through nature because, although God is invisible, he is "seen" by his works.[113]

The Israelite, on the contrary, under the influence of faith accepts all the glories of nature as signs and wonders of the Lord's power. In contrast to the religious response of faith, succinctly expressed in Wis 19.7-9, is the sterile "seeing" of the pagan whose malice blinds him to the saving activity of the Creator in the world (13.1, 5).[114] Insistence on

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[111]See, for example, C. Grimm, op. cit., 239, quoting Gfrörer; J. Fichtner, "Stellung," 127; G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 132-135. W. L. Knox, Some Hellenistic Elements, cites as examples Xenophon, Mem. 1.4.3 and Ps-Aristotle, De mundo, ch 6. The biblical parallels alleged by J. Reider, The Book of Wisdom, 158, namely, Ps 19.1; Job 36.22; Is 42.5, are not pertinent because they do not describe an argument for the existence of God but rather describe creation as manifesting his praise and glory as a theme for man's praise.

[112]H. Diels, Placita Philosophorum 1. 293. Further texts in C. J. Vogel, Greek Philosophy (Leiden, 1953) 2.30-36. Wis 15.5 also speaks of the beauty of idols, a theme foreign to the Hebrew Bible, as noted by G. Ziener, p. 133.

[113]De mundo 399b22. This text offers the harmony of the universe as proof for the existence of an intellectual principle that organized it. This was the extent to which the "argument from design" for God's existence prevailed for him.

[114]G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 133-134, distinguishes

the need of good will as basis for fruitful religious striving for union with God remains constant throughout all sections of the book. In this context the malice of paganism's "foolish reasoning" that opened this section of Wis (11.15) becomes clear.[115] The author accepts the value of philosophical speculation in leading to the God of revelation only for those who exclude from their speech all culpable "ignorance of God" (13.1), the converse of that "simplicity of heart" to which his opening exhortation summoned the readers (1.1). It is inconceivable that he could have formulated this judgment without being acquainted with contemporary philosophical speculation.

Studied in connection with the positive exposition of the need for divine Wisdom elaborated in "the book of Wisdom

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well the two approaches. He compares this pericope to passages from Aristotle and Cicero. See also J. Fichtner, "Die Stellung der Sapientia Salomonis in der Literatur-und Geistesgeschichte ihrer Zeit," ZNW 36 (1937) 129.

[115]S. George, "Begriff," 195, cites Wis 2.10; 10.8, and 14.22 as texts showing that ill-will bars knowledge of God. The Sage's apologia for God's saving activity in the world penetrates the entire structure of the book; see J. M. Reese, "Plan and Structure in the Book of Wisdom," CBQ 27 (1965) 391-399. A Jaubert compares the author's display of the "untiring initiative (prévenance) of God toward men" with Philo's concept of the covenant as God's grace, Notion, 437.

proper" (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21), this pericope represents a significant contribution to the development of the doctrine of grace, because it shows that man needs help over and above his natural powers in order to reach his ultimate destiny. Such help is needed even to know how to search for God correctly. The Sage is not concerned with abstract speculation about the divine but with the religious surrender that lays hold of eternal happiness; this is a gift that man can refuse through his ill-will.

The author's position here is not contradictory to his previous statement that "anyone who seeks wisdom can find her" (6.12), as Reider charges,[116] because there also he goes on to add that divine Wisdom anticipates man in this search. She is able to present herself to men so that they love and seek her; she communicates to them the desire and the good will by which they seek her (6.13-16). He refers again to this gracious power

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[116] J. Reider, The Book of Wisdom, 162. It should be added that the entire pericope of Wis 13.1-9 is directed against pagan philosophy. The author does not digress on the Jews in 13.6bc, as C. Grimm holds in his commentary, p. 237.

of Wisdom when he affirms that he had received "all good things together with her" even before he knew that "she was their begetter" (7.11-12). Consequently, what he is arguing against in pagan philosophical speculation is not a "stopping along the way because of having made only a superficial use of their intelligence," as E. Osty interprets the text.[117] What he condemns is the cause of this stopping short, namely, religious "ignorance of God" (13.1), the lack of good will needed in the search for union with God.

f) Eon speculation. In designating the climax of the philosophical quest for God as "investigating Eon" (13.9), the Sage takes into account the widespread Eon speculation of Hellenism. It originated in the Platonic tradition and continued to exert strong influence among late gnostics, for whom the ambition to rise above time and "become Eon" epitomized the mystical ideal of transcending self through union with

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[117] E. Osty, op. cit., 83. See S. George, "Begriff," for a correct interpretation of the author's reasoning.

God.[118] The choice of the term "Eon" here is deliberate, and not a mere stylistic variation for the word "cosmos" at the beginning of the pericope (13.2). Joseph Smith calls attention to this, and the following two reasons show that the Sage has chosen to introduce a new concept: (1) the style of a diatribe is to build up to a climax after an objection, and not merely to repeat the original argument. Hence, in condemning the pagans for "investigating Eon" and not finding the Creator, he touches the heart of the evil inherent in purely philosophical religion; (2) the term "eon" never has the meaning of "cosmos" in the purely static physical sense. As A. J. Festugière has established in two important studies on the term, it always connotes the idea of duration inherent in living beings.[119]

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[118]For Eon speculation see A. J. Festugière, RHT 4. 79-89, 148-151, 226. The phrase "become Eon" occurs also in the Gospel of Philip, no. 127.

[119]A. J. Festugière, "Le sens philosophique du mot αἰών," ParPass 11 (1949) 172-189, and for non-hermetic writings, in RHT 4.141-199. See J. Smith, "De interpretatione Sap 13.9," VD 17 (1949) 288; he also insists upon the distinction between eon and cosmos. See also Corpus Hermeticum, tract 11, ch. 1, which gives the order as God, eon, cosmos, time, A-G, p. 27 no. 3, is ambiguous, because even when eon deals primarily with space, it is not simply the cosmos in the static sense, but includes the idea of duration.

Eon worship was the epitome of hellenistic theosophy. As defined by A. J. Festugière, Eon eventually came to designate "the personified cosmic God and the entire limitless world and infinite time."[120] It is an active principle, a kind of world-soul exercising its power over the movements of the cosmos and giving all things existence. In the light of his studies, the remark of J. Reider that among hellenistic Jewish writers, "Aion is the world in time, while kosmos is the world in space," is not completely accurate,[121] because eon involves space and movement as well as time, and is more extensive in meaning. Under the influence of the speculation on eternity generated by Plato in Timaeus 37d1-8, the term eon enjoyed a long and fruitful history both in the area of abstract philosophical thought and in the realm of religious personification. Cult

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[120]A. J. Festugière, RHT 4. 197. It is not easy to determine how much of the Eon speculation developed after Wis was written. However, a recent study by Reinhold Merkelbach shows that the Eon festival, which existed during hellenistic times in Egypt, commemorated the Isis cycle, that is, the rebirth of Osiris; Isisfeste in griechisch-römischer Zeit. Daten und Riten (Brosch: A. Hain, 1963). See comments in Orientalia 34 (1965) 274-277, by W. A. Ward.

[121]J. Reider, op. cit., 162.

offered men the possibility of expressing their longing to "become Eon," that is, to be taken up into the cosmic forces conceived as a living being.[122] One reason for the popular cult of Eon was the scruple expressed in the sixth chapter of Ps-Aristotle, De mundo; it was deemed unfitting for the divinity as such to penetrate unseeming places. Hence the need of correcting the tradition found in the classical poets that all things were full of gods. What they really meant, says Ps-Aristotle, is that the divine power penetrates everywhere (see Wis 13.4), although God himself actually lives only in the highest sphere, heaven.[123]

In a parallel development, the Stoics, by combining the

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[122]See A. D. Nock, "A Vision of Mandulis Aion," HTR 27 (1934) 53-104. He shows that the word and concept are native to Greek speculation and not the result of Iranian influence, p. 78. The entry in L-S-J, 45, should be corrected accordingly. In Wis 13.9 a capital letter for Eon would make the author's argument clearer, as the exposition shows, although, in many cases it is difficult to decide what the exact point of view of the author is in using this term.

[123]De mundo 397b17-30. See Festugière RHT 4.180, and P. Heinisch, Philosophie 47. The augur Marcus Valerius Messala, consul in 53 B.C., identified Eon with the Roman Janus as the god who holds the universe together; see Max Zerf, "Der Gott Αἰών in der hellenistischen Theologie," ArRefg 25 (1927) 225-244.

role of Eon as the link between God and matter with the Aristotlian doctrine on the hierarchy of being, concluded to the existence of the divine organizer of the universe who can be known through the beauty and order of the cosmos.[124] Eon thus became for them the personification of the σύνδεσμος, the bond that keeps the universe together.[125] Yet, as the author of Wis correctly asserts, despite all this speculation, Greek philosophers never found the "Master" of all things (13.9); they never came to the knowledge of the personal Creator, he who is outside the cosmos, the "totally other." In their thinking Eon was eternal, self-existing, shaping to some extent the deity itself.[126] The use of the term Eon, therefore, at the climax of this skillfully constructed pericope is the most accurate choice that the Sage could have made to convey the failure of purely natural, philosophical religion.

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[124]Aristotle, Meta 1071a13; see A. J. Festugière, RHT 4.158, and Corpus Hermeticum, tract 11, chs. 5-14. As noted above, Greek philosophy's failure to come to the knowledge of the transcendent personal Creator probably prompted the author to use the terms "originator of all" and "original maker" in Wis 13.3, 5. He holds not only that God's power maintains all (11.23--12.1) but that knowledge of his might is the root of immortality (15.3).

[125]See M. Zerf, art. cit., 230; A-G, 793.

[126]See H. P. Owen, art. cit., NTS 5 (1958-59) 150.

If Eon were merely the personification of some particular natural quality or even synonymous with physical nature, this pericope would be simply a vague condemnation of nature worship, another hellenistic commonplace with little significance as a truly personal evaluation of hellenistic theosophy in the light of Sage's deep faith. But the whole context, the careful construction of the pericope, and its philosophical allusions make it quite likely that he intends to pass judgment upon an essentially erroneous religious attitude. Only by recognizing the full import of the term Eon in contemporary Hellenism is it possible to understand why he shows no indulgence toward its worshippers, and calls all who worship nature "inane" (13.1). On the base of a status of Eon erected during the time of Augustus at Eleusis, the inscription hails him as θεὰς φύσεως ἐργάτης "maker of the divine nature," and describes him as having no ἀρχὴν μεσότητα τέλος "beginning, central position, end," the same astronomical terms found in Wis 7.18.[127] Supremacy

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[127]Text in W. Dittenberger, SIG, 3rd ed., 1125, and studied by A. J. Festugière, RHT 4. 181-182. For a similar trilogy see Plato, Timaeus 37d; Laws 715e8. The term μεσότης is not found elsewhere in the Bible. Such stock phrases appear continually during the hellenistic period in various contexts. The usage by Wis is an indication of familiarity with contemporary pagan writing.

in the cosmic sphere is also attributed to Eon in a short poem included among the fragments attributed to Sotades, a lyric poet of the third century B.C. The poem is generally admitted to be a moralizing exercise of an unknown teacher in Egypt for the instruction of his pupils. It addresses Eon as γεννήτωρ κόσμου "begetter of the universe" and of all things.[128] Such a meaning is precisely what is called for in Wis 13.9. The pericope then reaches a logical climax to the attack on the divinization of the elements, because the plural "them" in this verse must include the particular elements mentioned in 13.2-5 as well as Eon.[129]

In contrast to this personification of the eternal vital cosmic forces, the Sage holds out as the only proper goal of all human religious striving the personal Master of all things who has revealed his existence and his perfection to the extent

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[128]Text in J. U. Powell, Collectanes Alexandrina, 243, with introductory note on p. 240. The nature of this poem is of interest in connection with the literary genre of the Book of Wisdom, which was evidently prepared for a similar purpose. This question will be treated in Chapter III.

[129]See J. Smith, art. cit., VD 17 (1949) 289. The τοῦτον (13.9) is neuter, an adverbial accusative preparing for the clause that specifies Eon as the goal of this philosophical search. J. Smith judges that Eon is put into the accusative, instead of the expected genitive, because men were trying to reach it directly. Note that the Stoics were described as those "investigating" the aim of life; von Arnim, SVF 3.10.

that he can be known "analogously" through nature (13.5). His condemnation of the pagan way of searching for Eon, then, not only embraces the worship of all inferior deities, such as the Platonic star divinities and the Stoic world-soul, but also includes a repudiation of the universally held Greek theory of the eternity of matter, which was the basis of the peripatetic doctrine of the self-sufficiency of the universe. In a word, it is an affirmation that "rationalized religion" involves a duplicity that bars man from ever arriving at union with his personal revealed creator.[130]

Having investigated the six ways in which philosophy influenced this short, rhetorical period of Wis 13.1-9, we can conclude that it is a succinct negative restatement of the positive teaching in the "book of Wisdom proper" (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21), namely, that man can achieve union with God only under the guidance of his gift and throne partner, Wisdom. It is a philosophical polemic based upon an accurate appraisal of contemporary cultured religious aspirations. The Sage condemns

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[130]The "rationalized religion" is described in E. R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (U. of California, 1951) 236-269. Aristotle teaches the eternity of matter in De caelo 277b28, etc.

every system of religious thought that confines man within the limits of the cosmic forces and the resources of purely human reasoning. Such a system cannot seek God "in sincerity of heart" (1.1: see 8.21) because it cuts itself off from the personal donor of divine Wisdom, "the initiate of the knowledge of God" (8.4), without whose initiative and power man can never attain to the blessed immortality for which he was made (see 2.23; 5.15). Created goals must not replace the personal God who invites men to share his friendship forever. Matter is not self-sufficient; what sustains all things is not matter or a world-soul of Eon, but "the spirit of the Lord (which) has filled the world" (1.7).[131] As unique creator of nature itself, God is transcendent, personal, totally free, saving;[132] he has complete control over all things and uses even nature itself to bring the just man to his eternal destiny.

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[131]The same word used for "sustain" in Wis 1.7 is applied to eon in Corpus Hermeticum, tract 11, ch. 5, and ch. 7 describes the eon as being filled with seven "kosmoi."

[132]On God's transcendence, see Wis 12.12-18; he uses nature to help in saving the just in Wis 5.17-23; 11.5; 16.17, 24; 17.15; 18.9; 19.6, 10-12, 18-21.

The Sage, therefore, is not trying to fuse two methods of union with God; he is not trying to "accommodate" revealed Jewish wisdom to Greek philosophical sophia.[133] On the contrary, he maintains that only the personal Creator offers man the saving experience that brings him to eternal life, because the God of the fathers is "the true educator of the pious" through his heaven-sent Wisdom.[134] Toward the end of his work the Sage affirms his belief that the chosen people have a responsibility to share their divine gifts with all mankind by means of the Law (18.4). But in 13.1-9 his aim has been to assert the unique character of revaled religion and to insist that it must serve as the foundation of personal piety.[135]

II. The Nature of Man's Immortality

During the first century B.C. both Jewish and pagan

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[133]See A. Cause, "L'humanisme juif et le conflit du judaïsme et de l'hellenisme," Mélanges Franz Cumont (Bruxelles, 1936) 525-537. He holds that Philo tried to make this fusion by the use of allegory and calls his attempts ill-prepared and illogical. See also H. A. Wolfson, "The Philonic God of Revelation and his Latter-day Deniers," HTR 53 (1960) 101-124.

[134]Georg Bertram, "Der Begriff der Erziehung in der griechischen Bibel," Imago Dei (Giessen, 1932) 33-51, on p. 44.

[135]The Book of Wisdom thus forms part of the literature of the so-called Jewish missionary spirit. This writing is studied in Peter Dalbert, Die Theologie der hellenistisch-jüdischen Missionsliteratur unter Ausschluss von Philo und Josephus (Hamburg-Volksdorf, 1954). See also Mt 23.15.

writers showed great interest in questions about the existence and nature of immortality. What influence did contemporary hellenistic thinking have upon the Sage's interest in this topic and his manner of presenting it? That is what this section wishes to determine. But first, it must be noted that the teaching of Wis on immortality has already been treated by four commentators. They correctly insist that the Sage does not look upon immortality as a metaphysical entity. For him it is not the inherent indestructibility of the soul, as Platonic tradition conceived it, but rather a state of eternal, blessed communion with God and his saints.[136] Consequently, although he adopts the abstract Greek noun "immortality," which does not appear in any other canonical book of the Old Testament, he never describes

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[136]See F. C. Porter, "The Pre-existence of the Soul in the Book of Wisdom and in the Rabbinical Writings," AJT 12 (1908) 53-118, on p. 85. This article appears also in Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. H. Harper, vol. 1. P. Heinisch, "Die Unsterblichkeitslehre," Die griechische Philosophie im Buche der Weisheit, 56-83, on pp. 77-80. H. Bückers, Die Unsterblichkeitslehre des Weisheitsbuches: ihr Ursprung und ihre Bedeutung (Münster, 1938). J. P. Weisengoff, "Death and Immortality in the Book of Wisdom," CBQ 3 (1941) 104-133; see pp. 104-105, 110, 126.

man's soul itself as immortal.[137] He shows a unique interest in this subject among these authors; in fact, among the canonical books of the Old Testament this is "the first and only instance where the future life is emphasized clearly and categorically as the real destiny of man."[138]

The Sage does not ignore developments within Jewish tradition itself. As to vocabulary, he incorporates the presentation of life with God as a sharing among the "saints" (5.5), that is, members of the heavenly court, as pictured in 1 Enoch 50 and the hymns of Qumran.[139] The suggestion has been made

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[137]The noun "immortality" occurs in Wis 3.4; 4.1; 8.13, 17; 15.3; the adjective "immortal" in Wis 1.15. Elsewhere in the Bible, the adjective is found in Sir 17.30; 51.9; the noun in 1 Cor 15.53, 54; 1 Tm 6.16; both words appear in 4 Mc. In pagan Greek literature both noun and adjective are common, and inscriptions sometimes speak of the deceased as ἀθανάτη ψυχή "immortal soul." See L. Robert, Hellenica XI-XII (Paris, 1960) 328-330.

[138]J. P. Weisengoff, art. cit., 107. P. W. Skehan notes that, "The reward is not 'with' God (5.16); it is rather 'in' God--that is to say, in everlasting union with Him," The Problem of Suffering as Treated in the Book of Wisdom, 1.1--6.21 (Washington, S.T.L. thesis, typewritten, 1935) 66.

[139]See P. W. Skehan, CBQ 21 (1959) 525-527, reviewing E. Osty's edition of Wis. See also Dt 32.8.

that he depends upon the writings of Qumran for his distinctive presentation of man's incorruption. A. Dubarle originally argued for an influence of 1 QS 3.23-24 upon Wis 2.24. After his reasoning was ably refuted by S. Lyonnet, he modified his position and simply maintains that the question is still an open one.[140] In reality, the teaching on immortality at Qumran is quite vague in contrast to the forthright affirmations of Wis;[141] and the biblical index to the edition of the Qumran texts by J. Carmignac offers no indication of similarity with the Book of Wisdom in this area.[142]

The Sage is not content to limit himself to traditions within the chosen people, but turns to the vocabulary currently

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[140]A. Dubarle, "Une source du livre de la Sagesse?" Rev ScPhTh 37 (1953) 425-443. S. Lyonnet, "Le sens de en Sap 2.24 et la doctrine du péché originel," Bib 39 (1958) 27-33. A. Dubarle, "La tentation diabolique dans le Livre de la Sagesse (2.24)," Mélanges E. Tisserant I (Vatican City, 1964; Studi e Testi, 231) 187-195.

[141]R. B. Laurin, "The Question of Immortality in the Qumran 'Hadayot'," JSS 3 (1958) 344-355.

[142]J. Carmignac et al., Les Textes de Qumran, 2 vols. (Paris, 1961, 1963). It should be noted that hellenistic influence upon Palestinian Judaism exists at least as early as the first century B.C. See Saul Lieberman, Hellenism in Jewish Palestine (N.Y., 1950) and Pierre Geoltrain, "Esséniens et Héllenistes," TZ 15 (1959) 241-253.

being employed by hellenistic writers. Without abandoning his Jewish faith, he actively seeks for insights in pagan religious, philosophical, and literary sources that will help the cultured believer to a deeper understanding of his destiny beyond this world. His use of technical terminology bears witness to a conscious attempt to influence a "learned circle" by speaking to them in sophisticated language.[143] This characteristic of the author's method is not recognized sufficiently even in the lengthy study of H. Bückers, who devoted insufficient attention to hellenistic philosophical developments; he was content to attribute pagan influence to Plato and Isocrates through popular writings.[144] One glaring defect in his approach is evident from the fact that a key word in Wis, "incorruption," appears in neither of those two classical Greek authors. Bückers saw philosophical influence primarily in the author's use of the rational method of reasoning in order to draw further conclusions from the deposit of revelation and thus arrive at a more personal doctrine of immortality. He looked upon Hellenism

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[143] S. George, "Begriff," 197. This type of writing is comparable to the Pythagorean tracts of that time; see Holger Thesleff, An Introduction to the Pythagorean Writings of the Hellenistic Period (Åbo, Findland: Acta Academiae 24.3; 1961).

[144] H. Bückers, op. cit., 50-51.

as the occasion for this advance, but he did not look into Hellenism itself as a possible source for the author's speculation.[145]

The following pages propose to show that pagan writing on immortality helped the Sage to achieve a clearer conception of its true nature. First of all, he appropriates from hellenistic religious speculation two terms never found in canonical books of the LXX, namely, immortality and incorruption. His use of them according to the rational philosophical method noted by Bückers points to specific hellenistic influence. Then, the Sage's speculation on the manna will be studied to show borrowings from pagan literature.

(1) Immortality. Wis uses the noun ἀθανασία five times: as the goal of the just man's hope (3.4),[146] as the result of the recollection of virtue (4.1),[147] as the gift of divine Wisdom

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[145] Ibid., 179-181. See also P. W. Skehan, "Isaias and the Teaching of the Book of Wisdom," CBQ 2 (1940) 289-299.

[146] This goal is life with God. The phrase may be translated, "their hope of immortality was full," but it is better rendered, "their hope was full of immortality," in keeping with the author's presenting God as maintaining the initiative in bringing men to this life; see Wis 5.14-15; 6.19.

[147] H. Bückers, op. cit., 15-16, correctly interprets this verse in the dynamic sense; God's creative knowledge of the just man's virtues is what gives him eternal life.

(8.13), the result of "relationship" with her (8.17),[148] and the knowledge of God's power (15.3). In addition, the adjective "immortal" is used as a predicate of justice (1.15). In contrast to Plato, the Sage never applies the term immortality to man or the human soul. It always designates something that happens to man, some aspect of his relationship to God or to divine Wisdom or to moral integrity. Immortality for man is not a quality of his nature as such but of a particular condition, whether he receives it as a gift or as a recompense.[149] In either case its origin is God, who bestows it only upon the just and the wise. This is true even in the case where the Sage calls knowledge of God's power the "root of immortality" (15.3); he is speaking of knowledge in the sense of response to God's merciful revelation of himself and of his "death-destroying power that makes our immortality possible."[150] As

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[148]For the personification, compare the quality of Isis treated above, p. 99.

[149]H. Bückers, op. cit., sees it presented as a grace in Wis 3.5, 9; 4.10-15, and as a recompense in 2.22; 3.13-15; 5.15.

[150]R. E. Murphy, "To Know Your Might is the Root of Immortality (Wis 15.3)," CBQ 25 (1963) 88-93, on p. 93. This phrase reinforces dynamic interpretation of "recollection of virtue" in 4.1; see above, note 147.

C. Grimm specifies in his commentary on Wis 14.13, the enjoyment of immortality rests upon God's power to give life back to men, and not merely to save them from death.[151] Man can freely reject this gift by spurning justice and choosing sin, the real cause of death, which is "simultaneously the earthly misfortune and the second death destined for sinners."[152]

This brief review of the Sage's use of the term immorality makes clear that any hellenistic influence should not be sought in Plato's teaching on the immortal nature of the soul. The Sage shows closer kinship with the Stoic teaching that man's happiness comes from the enjoyment of common citizenship with the gods in the universe.[153] Yet his use of the term immortality is not sufficient in itself to specify sources

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[151] C. L. W. Grimm, Das Buch der Weisheit, 266.

[152] A. M. Dubarle, The Biblical Doctrine of Original Sin (N.Y.: Herder, 1964) 106-107. For the second or real death see Wis 10.3. For emphasis on the divine initiative in the gift of immortality see Wis 1.15; 2.22; 3.15; 5.15; 6.18; 8.17. In contrast, the wicked will not only be forgotten by men (4.19) but punished forever (4.19; 12.27; 19.1).

[153] See A. J. Festugière, La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste 2. 270-277, for pertinent Stoic texts, and p. 459 for the eschatological aspects of cosmic religion; also 3. 139-140 for testimony to belief in immortality among the Greeks.

exactly. The influence of religious speculation on immortal life in the Orphic and Pythagorean movements about the Elysian fields, where the just enjoy their reward in companionship with the gods, will be treated in dealing with Wis 17.[154] More helpful in determining hellenistic influence on the Sage's conception of man's immortality is his use of the second hellenistic philosophical term, namely, ἀφθαρσία "incorruption."

(2) Incorruption. The meaning of this term in Wis has failed to receive adequate attention from the commentators; ordinarily they treat it simply as a stylistic feature to provide a synonym for the term immortality. But that approach ignores the specific force of this word, which is found only in learned writing. It developed in the context of philosophical speculation on the nature of man and the gods. The tracts of the Epicurean philosopher of the first century B.C., Philodemus of Gadara, shed light on the significance of this abstract noun. The writings, found at Herculaneum after Grimm wrote his monumental commentary on Wis, show that the term featured in

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[154]See F. Cumont, After Life in Roman Paganism, and Lux Perpetua (Paris: P. Geunther, 1949), for studies of this literature. Norman H. Snaith, "Justice and Immortality," ScotJT 17 (1964) 309-324, admits the influence of Greek thought on the author's teaching about the soul, but he does not try to specify the sources.

philosophical controversy at the time when Wis was written. Epicureans did not believe in personal immortality for men, but they thought that the gods did live forever, although gods were material beings like men. Seeking to explain the reason in their controversies with the Stoics, they affirmed that the gods enjoyed an unending "good life" of pleasure despite the fact that they were corporeal and as such subject to corruption. This happens because the gods, in contrast to men, possess the quality of "incorruption," which is the ability to receive endless existence.

Philodemus explains this quality as a positive power, a special capacity that prevented them from losing the atoms that make up their being. Thanks to this capacity, the bodies of the gods, although material, never disintegrate, and they are perfectly happy. They experience the uninterrupted enjoyment of total pleasure, which demands the recollection of past pleasure and the unmarred hope of endless satisfaction.[155] The term for this quality, "incorruption," was either coined by Epicurus, in whose writings it first appears, or elevated

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[155]Compare the Sage's explanation of man's immortality in terms of recollection (4.1) and hope (3.4).

by him to the status of a technical philosophical term.[156] The author of Wis found in this speculation certain features of the nature of blessed immortality, namely, that it is not a quality of man's nature as such but rather something outside of him, a result of divine power. He used this term, therefore as a means of completing his argument against philosophical religion and the divinization of nature in 13.1-9. This term helps him to explain in current scientific language the truth that only the personal God of revelation is the universal Lord of men and nature itself. To explain the influence, the texts in which the term occurs must be examined. The abstract noun appears in Wis 2.23; 6.18, 19; the adjective "incorruptible" occurs in Wis 12.1 and 18.4.

The Sage employs the term first in his answer to the attack of wicked men against the upright man who places his trust in God's care. He is faced with the apparent contradiction between the miserable state of men and the truth of God's universal love for all creatures. He believes that God has created

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[156]See G. Arrighetti, "Filodemo περὶ θεῶν III fr 74-82 (Pap. Herc. 157)," Parola del Passato no. 44, 10 (1955) 322-356, especially 340-344; A. Grilli, "Su alcuni frammenti di Filodemo," ibid. , no. 52, 12 (1957) 23-45; W. Scott, "The Physical Constitution of the Epicurean Gods," Journal of Philology 12 (1883) 212-247. The term "incorruption" is found in the New Testament, but not in the philosophical sense; see A-G, 124-25, The active quality is reflected in 4 Mc 9.22.

men for eternal happiness with himself. In itself, the conception of blessed immortality is not new; it is found already in both pagan and biblical traditions.[157] However, the Sage wishes to explain more exactly how this gift was lost, and he concludes that it was "through the envy of the devil" (2.24). Man's original condition was to be ἐπ' ἀφθαρσίᾳ "in" or "with" incorruption, not "for" incorruption; the use of ἐπὶ with the dative makes this clear.[158] He conceives the "incorruption" not as man's goal but as the positive quality granted to his nature enabling him to enter into a special, personal relationship with his Creator. This manner of presenting man's immortality shows a remarkable parallel with the reasoning of Philodemus about the gods.

In the main part of the second chapter (2.1-20) the Sage had satirized the shallow view of the Epicureans who taught

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[157] See Gen 2.8-17; 3.22-24. For belief in immortality within the biblical tradition see Mitchell Dahood, Psalms I, xxxvi, Psalms II, xxvi-xxvii (Anchor Bible 16-17; Doubleday, 1966, 1968). P. W. Skehan remarks that the author's thought results from "fruitful meditation of the earlier sacred books," CBQ 2 (1940) 290.

[158] Wis uses epi with the dative 22 times, and never to indicate finality. It clearly indicates a state in Wis 1.13; 17.3, 7; 18.13. That he viewed man's original condition as an incorrupt state is seen also in 14.12. Man enjoyed a special, privileged relationship with God.

that man's existence ended with death. Now he completes the irony by employing their own technical term "incorruption" to explain how God brings the just man to real life after death. Man does not possess the capacity for life with God through any disposition of the material order or any natural endowment of his human nature. He enters his final destiny through the workings of the divine power giving him a new dignity, a sharing in God's own "eternity."[159] This term also points to Epicurean influence; the word ἀϊδιότης never appears elsewhere in the Old Testament. But a statement of Epicurus says that God's very nature is his impassibility and incorruptibility, and this is his "eternity."[160] In his first use of the term "incorruption," then, the Sage makes use of its philosophical implications to teach that only a gift of God brings men to their destiny of serving God in love (3.9).

He returns to this term next in the sorites of 6.17-20,

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[159]Wis 2.23; for the reading see above, p. 2. The reading ἰδιότης "nature," chosen by Ziegler, has as witnesses only the Alexandrian mss and Clement of Alexandria. The Sage insists that men are mortal by nature in 7.1; 9.14; 15.8, 17; 16.14. The term "eternity" used in 2.23 is frequent in Philodemus, but found in the Bible again only in Rom 1.20.

[160]Quoted in Plutarch, De defectu oraculorum 20.420d; see also De superstitione 1. 165a. Epicurus taught that the species of earthly creatures were immortal, but not individuals within the species. Compare Wis 1.14.

which summarizes his long treatment of immortality in the first part of his work (1.1--6.11). The sorites traces the steps that lead from the wise man's search for training to his obtaining eternal royalty. The method of expressing this progress is significant for the Sage's understanding of incorruption. He says that "attention to laws is" not incorruption but rather "surety for incorruption." Then he continues, "incorruption makes being near to God" (6.18-19). In so doing he draws attention to the fact that "incorruption" is not simply the acquisition of human effort, but a recompense that God gives to those loyal to him. Of himself man remains strictly "mortal" (15.17); his flesh is "subject to corruption" like that of the brutes (19.21).[161] Of himself man is "weak and short-lived," (9.5), the very terminology used by the Epicureans to contrast the condition of man with that of the gods.[162]

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[161]The term ἐπίφθαρτος "subject to corruption," found only here in the Bible, appears first in Aristotle; it is common in medical writings.

[162]Human weakness makes men ὀλιγοχρόνιοι "short-lived," (9.5), a hellenistic compound used by Philodemus, but nowhere else in the Bible. In contrast, Philodemus sees the gods as πολυχρόνιοι "long-lived," On the Gods, Book 3, fr 8; the term appears in Wis 2.10; 4.8. Athanasius quotes Wis 6.18 as proof that man is mortal by nature and lost incorruption by sin in Oratio de incarnatione Verbi 4 (PG 25. 103).

Despite the dangers to faith he recognized in Hellenism, the Sage employed its speculation and terminology as a means of expressing more accurately the relationship between the God of revelation and the universe he created. He transcends the cosmos completely, and its order springs from the laws that he has given to it. Every creature continues in existence only because God places his "incorruptible spirit" (12.1) upon them. With these words he climaxes the development of 11.20-26, which is marked with hellenistic influence.[163] Here the technical term "incorrupt" attributes to divine power the permanence of the natural order because God's spirit maintains each species of creature in existence (see 1.14). This enduring quality of the species was the only kind of immortality recognized by the Epicureans.[164] As F. R. Tennant has shown, the Sage alluded to

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[163]See D. Barthélemy, Dieu et son image (Paris, 1963) 178. P. Grelot, "L'eschatologie de la Sagesse et les Apocalypses juives," A la rencontre de Dieu. Mémorial A. Gelin (Lyon, 1961) 165-178, sees the author's originality in his ability to adapt Greek terminology to traditional Jewish theology.

[164]Pagan philosophy linked incorruptibility to the order of the universe as a whole, because this is what maintained the necessary harmony of the elements; see Ps-Aristotle, De mundo 397a17-18. The source of this conception seems to have been a lost work of Aristotle, who attributed the orderly arrangement of the universe to its "incorruptible nature" ἄφθαρτος φύσις, to which he ascribed divinity, Fragment 11 (Ross). See W. Scott, art. cit., 217.

that type of permanence in his introduction when he said that God maintained creatures by "saving births," which prevent the world from ceasing to be (1.14).[165]

Yet, over and above this relationship of man as a creature to God his creator, the Sage distinguishes that special gift of incorruption by which man reflects God's eternity (2.23). In so doing he prepared the way for a better understanding of the special supernatural providence that not only protects and guides just men until their final salvation (see 3.1) but also orders the entire universe to the service of their salvation.[166] His delineation of these two distinct relationships to God should be distinguished from what P. Grelot calls his "exemplary symbolism," that is, his use of the events of sacred history to show that God is efficaciously bringing men to their

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[165]See F. R. Tennant, "The Teaching of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom on the Introduction of Sin and Death," JTS 2 (1901) 207-223, on p. 218. In Wis 1.14 the translation of genesis as "birth" explains the meaning of this passage. Aristotle also calls births "saving" in De anima 416b23. The word σωτήριος is common in pagan Greek, but occurs again in the Bible only in Amos 5.22. This Epicurean view of births as saving the universe contrasts with that of those who saw births as exhausting it; see Hans Lewy, "A Late Latin Hymn to the Creator ascribed to Plato," HTR 39 (1946) 243-258; see lines 13-14.

[166]The principle of this providence underlies 5.17-20 and is illustrated in the comparisons from sacred history.

eternal royalty.[167] The Sage refrains from going into specific aspects of this salvation, such as the resurrection. He makes no attempt to exclude it, but he does not affirm it explicitly.[168]

His last reference to incorruption is in connection with the workings of divine providence, which has assigned to the chosen people the mission of bringing all generations of men to the "incorruptible light of the Law" (18.4). This vision of the Law as a positive help from outside parallels the Epicurean teaching on the role of incorruption in giving the gods eternal happiness.

(3) Manna and immortality. The Sage shows hellenistic influence in the new elements that he introduces into his review of the Jewish experience during the Exodus. In his speculation about the manna he once more stresses the gratuitous nature of the just man's immortality. He does not use the term manna but rather describes the food in expressions that were familiar to readers of the LXX, namely, "food of angels" (16.20)

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[167] P. Grelot, Sens chrétien de l'Ancien Testament (Tournai, 1962) 368.

[168] See P. Grelot, "L'eschatologie de la Sagesse et les Apocalypses juives," A la rencontre de Dieu 174. The attempts to show that Wis wished to teach the resurrection by P. Beauchamp," Le salut corporel des justes et la conclusion du livre de la Sagesse," Bib 45 (1964) 491-526, are far from convincing. Wis is closer to the Stoic 4 Mc; see Withold Marchel, "De resurrectione et de retributione statim post mortem secundum 2 Mach comparandum cum 4 Mach, VD 34 (1956) 327-341, especially 337.

and "ice and snow" (16.22).[169] Around this mysterious substance he poses considerations to elaborate upon his belief that God freely bestows upon just men a heavenly gift by which they experience his own γλυκύτης "tenderness" (16.21).[170] This word had religious connotations in pagan religious writing because it was used to describe their deities, although it was never applied to God in the Hebrew Bible.

The Sage affirms that God sent this "bread from heaven" (16.20) for a didactic purpose, to teach his children that they are saved not by earthly nourishment but by the free gift of his life-giving word (16.26). To explain the transforming power of this gift he uses two phrases in parallelism. First, he used the phrase from the Septuagint translation of the Psalms, "bread of angels" (Ps 77.25LXX). But then he goes on to describe it by a difficult expression outside of the biblical tradition, πάσαν ἡδονὴν ἰσχύοντα (16.20c). As J. Ziegler's text shows, this phrase should not be simplified with the Vulgate to "having all delight in itself," as if the Greek text

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[169]The first term is from Ps 77.25LXX. P. W. Skehan, "Isaias and the Teaching of the Book of Wisdom," CBQ 2 (1940) 289-299, shows that the second combines Nb 11.7LXX and Ps 148.4.

[170]J. Ziegler, Dulcedo Dei (Münster, 1937) 12-14, shows that the term "tenderness" gives a technical philosophical ring to this passage. The word appears in the LXX again only in Jgs 9.11, to describe a fig tree.

read ἰσχοντα, or ἐχοντα. This is a simplifying variant based on the interpretation that the Sage pictures the manna as desirable in itself.[171] In actual fact, however, he considers the visible manna simply as a type of the eternal divine "sweetness" that is the just man's unending happiness. The material nourishment is merely a "token" of true salvation (see 16.6). C. Grimm has grasped the meaning in his rendering of the phrase as "producing complete pleasure."[172] Behind this phrase is a recollection of the Epicurean teaching that eternal happiness embraces the enjoyment of uninterrupted pleasure. They considered it a prerogative of the gods, whose existence they described as "most pleasurable," for god is by definition for

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[171] See the variants in the apparatus of J. Ziegler's text, p. 153. His study, mentioned in the previous note, also deals with the difficulties of this text. Nb 11.4-6 and 21.5 picture the Israelites as being disgusted by the manna. Note that the description of the quail as "food of luxury" (19.11) becomes meaningful in the light of the Ptolemaïc policy of "gracious living"; see Julien Tondriau, "La tryphé. Philosophie royale ptolémaïque," REA 50 (1948) 49-54.

[172] C. Grimm, Das Buch der Weisheit, 271; he quotes Sir 43.15 in a similar sense, but does not mention the idea of manna as a type. The rabbinic comments on the manna dealt with its physical nature; see J. Reider, in loco, 193.

the Epicureans "the blessed and the incorrupt."[173]

Hellenistic influence appears again when the Sage returns to the subject of the manna in the closing verses of his work (19.18-21). Here he summarizes the miraculous changes brought about in nature for the benefit of God's chosen people and alludes to his longer description in 16.17-23. In the summary he describes the manna by two terms never used in the biblical tradition; it is κρυσταλλοειδής "ice-like" (19.21), a hellenistic compound found first in Epicurus. And it is ἀμβρόσιος "ambrosial" food (19.21), the classical designation of the food used by the gods. P. Beauchamp has recognized that he refers to pagan speculation on ambrosia, the "god-nourishing" food that assured the gods of immortality.[174] Just as the Sage had

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[173]First aphorism of Epicurus, quoted in Cyril Bailey, The Greek Atomists and Epicurus (Oxford, 1928) 473. See Sextus Empiricus, Adv. Math. 9. 165. Philodemus, On Piety, p. 382, describes the life of the gods as ἥδιστον "most pleasurable," the superlative of the adjective corresponding to the noun for pleasure in Wis 16.20. Wis here is modifying the meaning of the noun in Nb 11.8, where the word must be translated "taste." Just as the Sage skillfully modifies the Old Testament accounts for didactic purposes, so also he adapts hellenistic thought to explain the truths of revelation.

[174]P. Beauchamp, "Salut," p. 509, gives typical examples, which goes back as far as Pindar. F. Cumont, L'Egypte des Astrologues, 206, quotes Greek Anthology 9.577, which compares contemplation of the stars to "filling oneself with god-nourishing ambrosial food."

alluded to Epicurean thought near the beginning of his book in the discourse on the impious (2.1-20), so at the end he borrows upon hellenistic speculation to pictured blessed immortality in terms familiar to cultured Alexandrians.

In this daring climax to his series of examples of the working of providence in sacred history, the Sage emphatically proclaims that the personal Creator gives to just men the unending happiness associated with the gods in pagan literature. In writing this way the Sage is not teaching that gods exist; nor does he believe that material food brings happiness. But by comparing the biblical manna to ambrosia he presents it as a type of the divine gift that alone enables just men to enjoy his reward in the Lord, who is "eternal light" (7.26).[175] He thus avails himself of one more means to show that man's immortality is not the achievement of any natural force of power but rather the crowning gift of a special providence of God, who glorifies those faithful to him by the gifts of his love (3.9), sonship (5.5), eternal kingship (6.21), and nearness to himself forever (6.19). By promising the upright companionship

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[175]See E. Osty, op. cit., 33; he notes that "in the Old Testament God is never spoken of as 'the light,' but he is accompanied by light." Isis is called light to men in the hymn from Ios, line 7, and the Cretan poet Mesomedes says that she enlightens the world, 1.16.

not with gods who are themselves subject to Nature, but rather with the God of nature, the Sage offers a view of personal blessed immortality which is at once understandable and appealing to cultured hellenistic readers. He was conscious that a distinction had to be made between the relationship of all men to God which springs from human nature itself and that enjoyed only by the just man. On the one hand, God loves all that he created, because otherwise nothing could continue to exist (11.24-25). On the other hand, however, without divine Wisdom man is of no account (9.6). In this distinction is foreshadowed what systematic theology calls the natural and the supernatural orders.[176]

This section has indicated how hellenistic speculation helped the Sage to explain the special gift of immortality that God gives to the just. But he was also interested in defining

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[176]See the commentary of E. Osty on Wis 6.13 in the one-volume edition of La Sainte Bible (Paris, 1956) 875; he sees in this verse a foreshadowing of the theological conception of gratia praeveniens, which is linked to the supernatural order.

man's various relationships to God during this life,[177] and he borrowed from hellenistic anthropology to help him. A study of these influences forms the subject of the following development.

III. The Anthropology of the Book of Wisdom against the Background of the Hellenistic Kingly Ideal

After treating the final destiny of many in the first part of his work (1.1--6.11 + 6.17-20), the Sage abruptly turns his attention to man's condition during this life in the "book of Wisdom proper" (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21). The chief characteristics of this part are the personification of divine Wisdom and the author's assumption of the person of wise King Solomon. At first sight these two parts may seem unrelated, but the author is actually enlarging his scope to show the all-inclusive nature of man's dependence upon God's twofold love. Just as he cannot reach his final destiny unless God endows him with the gift of incorruption, so also his present life falls short of its meaning and goal without the gift of divine Wisdom (see 9.6). The following pages will attempt to show that the Sage draws upon

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[177]Georg Ziener, "Die Verwendung der Schrift im Buche der Weisheit," Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift 66 (1957) 138-152, on p. 148, shows how the Sage combines the events of the Exodus with teachings in Greek philosophy to define these relationships to God more exactly.

hellenistic anthropological and ethical speculation both in "the book of Wisdom proper" and in his defense of God's activity in salvation history (11.16--12.27) in order to explain how the wise man matures in his human nature. Other parts of the book will be mentioned here insofar as they show traces of the same influence.

The author treats of divine Wisdom in order to elaborate upon her role in the growth of human perfection. He stresses his own mortal weakness. Despite his lofty position as king with a unique mission toward God's chosen people, he shares in man's universal intrinsic weakness (7.1-6; 8.19-21). Then he generalizes to reflect upon the inherent weakness of human nature itself (9.14-16). Such reflections serve as a foil against which he can exalt the greatness of men favored by divine Wisdom, the heroes of salvation history (ch. 10). Recogntion of his own weakness prompts his prayer for this same Wisdom, for a man achieves his perfection only when she is active within him. On the basis of this truth he outlines for his readers in 6.22 the content of the remainder of the "book of Wisdom proper," as explained above on pp. 97-98.[178]
out to explain the nature of divine Wisdom (7.22--8.1), how

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[178]See E. Gärtner, Komposition, 22-28.

she came to him (8.2-19, with the prayer of ch. 9), and her activity from the beginning of the world (ch. 10). It is in relation to this program that he first inserts the three short strophes: (a) to explain his own humble birth and personal weakness (7.1-6); (b) to show that divine Wisdom is the origin of all his human perfections (7.7-14); (c) to pray to God for the ability to communicate this divine Wisdom to every man (7.15-22a).

The author's religiously oriented anthropology becomes clear chiefly in the course of these developments, in which he wrestles with the tensions between man's inherent weakness and his attaining of true greatness through the manifold operations of heaven-sent Wisdom within him. His solution cannot be called an attempt to answer the impiety of Qohelet, as some commentators have suggested, because the study of P. W. Skehan disproved any literary dependence of Wis upon that book.[179] On the contrary, his presentation must be understood against the background of the widespread anthropological speculation of religious inspiration devoted to elaborating the kingly ideal in the hellenistic world from the time of Alexander the Great, Formulated

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[179]P. W. Skehan, The Literary Relationship between the Book of Wisdom and the Protocanonical Wisdom Books of the Old Testament (Washington, 1938); see especially p. 33.

in the new literary genre of tracts "On Kingship," this speculation played an important educative and propaganda role in the various kingdoms that sprang up in the Greek-speaking world after the death of Alexander. Originally, these tracts were written by philosophers to provide prudent pedagogical advice for the reigning monarch or heir apparent. But soon productions of this genre became the ordinary vehicle for tracing the moral ideal of Hellenism in the form of a mirror for the wise and benevolent king, ideal of the true philosopher. Just as Plato had tried to explain the nature of the human soul by magnifying its individual powers and virtues to compare them to the parts of the ideal Republic, so hellenistic thinkers resorted to essays on kingship to explain the ideal of human perfection on the principle that "between the wise man and the divine world exists the same communion, the same close contact . . . as between God and the king."[180] A brief summary of this literature will serve as an introduction to the study of

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[180] L. Delatte, Traités, 220. For a review of the literature on the kingship tracts see E. R. Goodenough, "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship," Yale Classical Studies 1 (1928) 52-102. The titles of many of these tracts are preserved in von Arnim, SVF 4. 32.

hellenistic influence on the anthropology of the Book of Wisdom.

Although no complete example of the hellenistic tract "On Kingship" is extant, their nature and content can be surmised to some extent from extant fragments, and especially from the so-called Letter of Aristeas, because its banquet scene is evidently based either upon one of them or upon the kingship literature in general.[181] Clement of Alexandria quotes from one written by Aristobulus, and more than ten pages from the tracts of three Pythagorean writers, Diotogenes, Sthenidas, and Ecphantus, are preserved in the Florilegium of Stobaeus.[182] The

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[181]This dependence was pointed out by W. W. Tarn in an excursus to The Greeks in Bactria and India, 414-436, and studied by G. Zuntz, "Aristeas Studies I: The Seven Banquets," JSS 4 (1959) 21-36. Recently Oswyn Murray, "Aristeas and Ptolemaic Kingship," JTS n.s. 18 (1967) 337-371, argues that Aristeas drew from the kingship literature in general in a creative way; this opinion rejects the theory of Zuntz that Aristeas was following a single tract in his banquet scene.

[182]Clement of Alexandria, Stromates 5.97.7; 5.99.3-101; 5.107. Strobaeus, Florilegium, title 48, "On Kingship" 61-66; these are critically edited in L. Delatte, Traités, 25-46. Goodenough accepted the three Pythagorean tracts as hellenistic, but Delatte argued that they reflect neo-Pythagorean influence, and should be dated from the second century A.D. However, the late dating by Delatte has been challenged by H. Thesleff, An Introduction to the Pythagorean Writings of the Hellenistic Period (Åbo, Acta Academiae 24.3; 1961), and he again supports the hellenistic date. In any case, the fragments reflect the spirit and content of this highly influential literary genre.

earlier tracts, following the scholastic tradition of Plato[183] and Xenophon, devoted themselves to explaining the dictum that the perfect state could never exist "until philosophers were kings." Aristotle, Persaeus of Citieus, Cleanthes, and almost every philosopher from the end of the fourth century B.C. until the end of the hellenistic period composed one of these treatises. Above all, however, the Stoics found them ideal for formulating their mystique of kingship.[184] Even the historian Diodorus Siculus devoted a section to a description of the qualities of the ideal king (1.70.5). The fact that hermetic literature also contains a number of these treatises in the form of instructions given by a sage to a king is evidence that this literary genre flourished even among esoteric groups during the imperial age.[185] As L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriau demonstrate

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[183]Plato, Rep 473d; see also 487e; 499cd; 540a-543a. In the eyes of Plato, the philosopher is the lover of wisdom or truth; Rep 475b; 480b. Compare Wis 6.20, "a yearning for Wisdom leads to a kingdom." Note also the addition of the titles "king" and "tyrant" by the translator in Job 2.11LXX, although these men were not conceived as rulers by the original Hebrew author. See also Job 15.5LXX.

[184]See L. Delatte, Traités, 140. Fragments of Stoic tracts are found in von Arnim, SVF 3. 332, 606, 617.

[185]See A. J. Festugière, RHT 1. 423-432.

in their important study on the cult of rulers, the common feature of the kingship tracts was their presentation of the divine perfections, and especially of the wise divine providence. This was held up as model for the earthly king, whose role in this world destined him to be the ideal man. His wisdom was to imitate in his realm the conduct of the wise and provident King of the Universe, whose providence governs "the order of the visible stars and the natures of men."[186]

The following pages will show how the author of Wis used concepts developed in such tracts, first in his picture of the personal God of revelation, and then in his description of the just man.

1. The presentation of God. The Sage does not use titles for God that would seem to limit his concern and power to the Israelites, and he avoids the anthropomorphic titles so common in the Hebrew Bible. On the contrary, he speaks in terms that appeal to a cultured, cosmopolitan audience by presenting the God of revelation as the universal ruler of the cosmos who, like a wise and provident king, "cares for all

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[186]Diodorus Siculus 1.13. See L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriau, Un concurrent de christianisme: le culte des souverains (Tournai, 1957). For the picture of the well-ordered universe under the guidance of providence see Ps-Aristotle, De mundo, ch. 6, and the discussion of Festugière, RHT 2.460-511, 608.

men" without exception (12.13).[187] In his long apologia for God's conduct toward men as narrated in sacred history, he builds his case upon a common legal principle taken from the civil life of Greco-Roman society: ἀλλὰ πάντα μέτρῳ καὶ ἀριθμῷ καὶ σταθμῷ διέταξας "but you disposed all in measure and number and weight" (11.20).

The study of this phrasing by E. Genzmer established that the linking of measure, number, and weight is never found elsewhere in the Old Testament; rather the author is using a "philosophical, rhetorical, and grammatical commonplace" from pagan sources.[188] What he has done is to apply a basic maxim of daily legal transactions, "a current expression that formed part of the common intellectual baggage" of hellenistic culture, in a far-reaching way and has made it the principle directing God's universal care of the cosmos.[189]

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187 ᾧ μέλει περὶ πάντων. The construction of the impersonal verb with the dative used here is the classical idiom to express the care of the gods; see L-S-J, 1100. The impersonal form of the verb "care" is found in the Old Testament also in Tb 10.5; Jb 22.3; 1 Mc 14.42, 43, but never in conjunction with a prepositional phrase as here in Wis.

188 Erich Genzmer, "Pondere, numero, mensura," Archives d'Histoire du Droit oriental & Revue Internationale des Droits de L'Antiquité 1 (1952) 469-492. See also E. des Places, "Un emprunt de la 'Sagesse' (11.20/21) au 'Lois' (VI, 757b, 3-4) de Platon," Bib 40 (1959) 1016-1017; he sees an allusion via a late Pythagorean tract to Plato's effort to establish mathematical equality in marks of honor.

189 E. Genzmer, ibid., 477.

One of the most striking examples of the influence of kingship literature upon the Sage is the way that he makes use of its picture of God as universal king in his ordering of the material in 12.15-19. The virtues mentioned and their order is the same as that found in the Letter of Aristeas, 206-208, namely, his δύναμις "power" (12. 15 and 17) and his ἐπιείκεια "clemency," but in the general sense of "mildness" (12.18), from which the just man learns to be φιλάνθρωπος (12.19), a term difficult to translate. This quality, translated ordinarily into Latin as humanitas, signified in the hellenistic tracts a "sense of gracious good will, especially on the part of a king toward his subjects," and was one of the qualities most strongly recommended to every ruler.[190] It also became a commonplace in works on public and private morality in all philosophical schools of the period, often in connection with mildness,

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[190] A. Jaubert, La notion d'Alliance dans le Judaisme (Paris, 1963) 364. See C. Spicq, "La philanthropie hellénistique, vertu divine et royale (a propos de Tit 3.4)," Studia Theologica 12 (1958) 169-191; he shows that the nuance of the word depends on the context. In the kingship tracts it never has the vague meaning of "love of humanity"; see A. J. Festugière, RHT 2.302-9. The wide meaning of "kindness" for ἐπιείκεια is taken from these tracts; see O. Murray, art. cit., 356.

as in Wis. In the banquet scene in the Letter of Aristeas, in answer to three successive questions put by the king, the Jewish wise men praise the same three qualities. For the king to be truthful, they say, he has simply to recall that he has the power to do whatever pleases him; consequently, he does not have to resort to deceit. But let him understand that true wisdom is clement or mild toward subordinates because it is mindful that "God conducts all men with mildness." In so conducting himself, the king fulfills his role of imitating God,[191] and by his persevering patience he becomes philanthropos, that is, gracious or bounteous or humane.[192] The parallel between these two works in the ordering of these motifs is too striking to be purely accidental. This does not mean that the author of

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[191]See A. Delatte, Traités, 295, for references in the kingship literature to the principle that the just king is one who imitates God.

[192]See H. G. Meecham, Letter of Aristeas, 71, and M. I. Rostovtzeff, Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World (Oxford, 1941) 3. 1358-1359, for the translation of the term as "humane." Diodorus Siculus links "humanity" and "clemency" in 5.34, and they appear together in 3 Mc 3.15. The adjective philanthropos makes its appearance first in hellenistic royal correspondence according to C. B. Welles, Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period (New Haven, 1937) lxxxvi. A. J. Festugière explains the Stoic influence on the development of these virtues; these philosophers insisted that they must be exercised toward all so that the king would become "savior of all men," RHT 2. 301-309. In treating the addresses of the Book of Wis in Chapter IV, it will be shown that the Sage addresses just men as the kings of creation.

Wis depends directly upon the Letter of Aristeas, but it does indicate his dependence upon the genre of kingship tracts.

2. The presentation of the just man. The Sage also uses the subject matter and methodology of the tracts on kingship when he portrays the ideal of human perfection as an imitation of the virtues of the divine ruler of the universe. In stating that divine Wisdom teaches man the four cardinal virtues (8.7), he expresses the ideal human perfection in terms of current hellenistic anthropology rather than in those of the biblical tradition.[193] By adopting such terminology the Sage employs a sophisticated approach that appeals to a learned circle of readers. Writers of the Hebrew Bible did not analyze man philosophically; rather, they present him simply as a living being created to the image of God. He has received dominion over all other living creatures (Gen 1.26-28), and was granted the privilege of ruling over the works of God's hands (Ps 8.7-9). Instead of repeating this popular, unscientific view of man, Wis prefers the more developed analytic reasoning of the kingship tracts, in which every wise man is looked upon as being educated

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[193]See A. Pelletier, Flavius Josèphe, adaptateur de la lettre d'Aristée, 264 and 119. Wis is the only canonical book of the Old Testament to use the word "virtue" in this way.

by the practice of an orderly array of virtues.

For the Sage, divine Wisdom performs this educative role and trains the just man, who is the true wise man, to rule over an ordered universe; his God-given mission is "to manage the cosmos in holiness and justice" (9.3). Underlying this statement of the just man's mission in this world is the hellenistic philosophical conception of the wise man as imitator of the provident divinity who "being just, manages justly in every way" his domain, namely, the cosmos (12.15).[194] This imagery of God as the wise "manager" of the orderly universe is commonplace in the literature of the ideal king.[195]

The influence of this conception of man's role accounts for the Sage's fondness for the term ἄνθρωπος "man," which he uses 32 times, including five times in the ninth chapter. It also explains why he avoids proper names. He wants his ideal king, his just and wise "man," to be understood not as the

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[194]The τὰ πάντα (12.15) is best understood as an adverb of manner, and the verb "manage" is used absolutely. Hence, the translation should not be "everything," but "in every way." The "all" in 12.13 and 16 should be understood as masculine.

[195]Although Wis 2.23 and 9.3 allude to Gen 1.26, the author uses the technical vocabulary of kingship literature when he speaks of God as the one who "manages" the world in 9.3 and 12.15. See Ecphantus 274.6; 275.8. The verb used, διέπω appears nowhere else in the Bible; see Pelletier, op. cit., 30.

individual King Solomon but rather as the type of everyman, favored and esteemed by the common Father of all men, who cares for all (12.13), and who "spares all as ἄνθρωπον," that is, not as a member of a particular people but as belonging to the one human race that he created (12.8). The kingship treatises regularly use this term "man" for the purpose of stressing the personal dignity of every human being, whatever his state in life, because all share the same nature. The universalizing significance of the word is explained by A. Pelletier in commenting upon its application to the ambassadors sent to the king of Egypt from Jerusalem in the Letter of Aristeas, 174. He notes that the letter uses "man" to express a sentiment of "human sympathy" and to recognize the inherent dignity of the human person.[196]

The Sage uses this authentic hellenistic device to capitalize upon individuals and events of sacred history as types for conveying religious and moral lessons to his readers. He already employed this method in his learned digression upon the unnamed Enoch, whose early departure from earth served as

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[196] A. Pelletier, Flavius, 166-167; he calls this "authentically Greek usage." The idiom is also discussed in J. Palm, Über Sprache und Stil des Diodorus von Sizilien, 193.

a type of God's efficacious saving power for the just (4.10-14). In his case the motive offered for God's intervention was that the βασκανία φαυλότητος "witchery of emptiness" obscures the mind (4.12) and thus leaves a man vulnerable to the attack of evil. That conception parallels the comment of Ecphantus, who sees man's subjection to earthy "emptiness" as a defect of human nature.[197]

The Sage draws upon the qualities of the hellenistic ideal king to delineate the just man's perfection. In making the cardinal virtues flow from the wise man's choice of personified Wisdom, the Sage is adapting a literary pattern found in the famous choice of Heracles, as J. Heinemann has indicated.[198] Wisdom gives her devotee φρόνησις, that is, "prudence" in the technical sense of practical wisdom, as is evident from the

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[197]Ecphantus 245.8 and 278.4; texts in Delatte, Traités, 26 and 35, with commentary on p. 232. Neither noun in this phrase is found again in the Old Testament. The Sage insists that even good men need divine help because of human weakness. That need will be treated below in the discussion of Wis 9.15. Compare the pagan belief that an early death was a sign of the favor of the gods; texts in Grimm, p. 106.

[198]J. Heinemann, "Die griechische Quelle der 'Weisheit Salomos'," Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars Fraenckelscher Schiftung für das Jahr 1920 (Breslau, 1921) 136-153, on p. 144. See Xenophon, Memorabilia 2.1.22. Wis, however, remains in the biblical tradition by insisting that virtue is a gift, either of God (7.16; 8.21) or of divine Wisdom (8.6).

combination in Wis 8.6-7.[199] In the LXX of the Book of Proverbs this term for "prudence" is the ordinary word to translate the Hebrew binâ, and in the LXX of 3 Kg it is used to describe Solomon's hokmâ, a word generally rendered by sophia. The choice of this term shows some familiarity with hellenistic philosophical language by this translator.[200] Ecphantus taught that God is "the prudence of the universe," and that the king, as a god in his realm, needs this quality to rule well, because without it he could have no virtue.[201] In the teaching of the Stoics prudence was a fundamental requisite for the king, destined as he was to share in the divine Reason of the master of the uni-

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[199]The term "prudence" occurs in Wis 3.15; 4.9; 7.7, 16; 8.6, 7, 18, 21. Words from the same root are common in the book, which has 11 variations, including the biblical hapax legomena παράφρων (5.20) and πολύφρονις (9.15). The Sage's linking of imprudence and injustice (12.23) forms the converse of the common Stoic link between prudence and justice; see C. Spicq, "Joseph, son mari, étant juste ... ," RB 71 (1964) 206-214, on p. 210, for texts.

[200]Gillis Gerleman, Studies in the Septuagint III. Proverbs, 52, cites Prv 1.2; 3.13, 19; 7.4; 8.1; 10.23; 16.16 as examples of hellenistic influence on this translation, and sees specifically Platonic influence in Prv 14.17.

[201]Ecphantus 279.14; text in Delatte, Traités, 36; see p. 243, where he traces the conception to Plato.

verse.[202] As to the manner in which divine Wisdom communicates prudence and the other virtues to the just man, the Sage speaks of the virtues as the "pains" of Wisdom (8.7). No doubt he is using the imagery of the Greek philosophers who pictured virtues as children; they were desirable because their existence brought happiness to their progenitors and never caused sadness as physical children often do.[203]

In the tracts on kingship both God and the ideal king are pictured as carrying out their role by "benefiting" their subjects. G. Zuntz pointed out the distinctively Greek character of this outlook when he wrote, "To proclaim God as the model of royal ἐνεργεσία is essentially a Greek idea."[204] It is

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[202]See A. J. Festugière, RHT 2. 281-283. L. Delatte remarks that the qualities assigned to divine Wisdom in 7.25 resemble those attributed to the king and kingship by Ecphantus, Traités, 206. For prudence as a kingly virtue in Philodemus, See A. Grilli, "Su alcuni frammenti di Filodemo," Parola del Passato no. 52, 12 (1957) 38. D. B. Macdonald calls attention to the Sage's use of technical hellenistic terminology when he treats of knowledge, The Hebrew Philosophical Genius. A Vindication (Princeton, 1936) 98.

[203]See A. J. Festugière, RHT 2. 299-301; also Plato, Banquet 212a: union with beauty produces virtue. For the Stoic meaning of "pains" as personal toil see Wis 3.15; 8.18.

[204]G. Zuntz, "Aristeas Studies I," JSS 4 (1959) 27. The Verb "benefit" appears in Wis 3.5; 11.5, 13; 16.2. It is frequent in Egypt and often applied to the Ptolomies; see A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks, CPJ 1. 162. In the LXX it appears only in Ps 12.6; 56.2; 114. 7; 2 Mc 10.38, always of God.

precisely this ability that Ps-Solomon begs from God in seeking divine Wisdom, for she is εὐεργετικός "beneficent" or "kind" (7.22) and thus will show him how to rule well.[205] God's favor toward his chosen people is designated by this term "kindness" (16.11, 24), the ordinary technical term in the hellenistic era for public acts of service. And the entire chosen people are called εὐεργέται "benefactors" towards the pagans (19.14); this was the technical term found on commemorative steles erected to honor men who had performed special services toward society.[206] Just as the wise king was to be the benefactor of all his subjects, so the Sage envisions the chosen people as destined to fulfill a role as benefactors toward all mankind by extending to all generations the "Law's incorruptible light" (18.4).

The way in which the ideal king is to invoke sanctions also helps to explain the Sage's manner of presenting the restraint

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[205]See Diotogenes 270.5; other texts are listed in note 65 of Chapter I. How divine Wisdom "benefits" the author as Sage is described in 7.17-22; how she "benefits" him as king is developed in 8.10-15; 9.9-12.

[206]See G. Daux, "Décret de Sigée trouvé en Corse," BCH 80 (1956) 53-56, for the discussion of a stele erected to a benefactor of a city between 200-150 B.C.

of God in exercising his power, and especially in the way that he punishes sin. Two aspects are balanced. On the one hand, God punishes all sin.[207] On the other hand, he carefully limits his punishments. Toward his enemies he practices careful προσοχή and δίεσις "attention and remission";[208] and toward his own people he practices great ἀκρίβεια "precision" so that his providence will achieve its goal (12.20-21).[209] And just as the tracts taught the ideal king to be δεινός "terrifying" toward his enemies, so also the Sage sees divine providence as using

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[207]See Wis 1.9; 5.14, 23; 11.9; 12.22, 26-27; 16.1, 5 16; 17.1; 18.5, 15-18; 19.1. In the light of this principle, the conjecture to soften "myriad" to "moderation" loses much of its cogency; see A. Vanhoye, "Mesure ou démesure en Sag XII, 22?" RSR 50 (1962) 530-537.

[208]The reading δίεσις, found only in S and adopted by Ziegler, is a biblical hapax. The translation "remission" adopts a meaning attested in the papyri; see F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden (Berlin, 1925--) 1.376.

[209]By using the term "precision," the Sage follows the Platonic ideal laid down for punishing in Laws 809a. The term is common in pagan literature and in the papyri; it appears in the Letter of Aristeas 103 and in Ps-Aristotle, De mundo 397b12.

various means to make sinners experience this emotion.[210]

The Sage pictures the immortality of the just as a sharing in the divine rule; perhaps he wished to make a contrast to the vain striving after divine honors common among hellenistic savior kings.[211] For him true immortality is a gift from the hand of God (5.16). He warns against vain idolatrous worship as the source of moral evil for mankind (14.16b-21). It seems probable that his representation of blessed immortality in terms of ruling with God (3.8; 5.16; 6.21) was to anticipate his later condemnation of the pride and folly of hellenistic kings who tried to legislate immortality for themselves and who had statues of themselves as gods erected. "For no man can mould something like himself into a god" (15.16). Philosophers tried to teach the ideal kings to be a light for their subjects, but when God appears he will make wise men

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[210]The Sage uses the adjective in 5.2; 11.18; 12.9; 16.5; 18.17; 19.16, and the adverb in 17.3. He describes the terror that sinners experience in 5.22-23 and 17.2-21. Yet, he balances this terror with his teaching that God loves all men (11.17-20) and uses even fear to teach (11.16). His double insistence that God withdraws from evil in the prologue (1.4, 9-10) fits in with this theme, which is also found in kingship literature; see Diotogenes 267.9; text in Delatte, Traités 70, with discussion on p. 265.

[211]See L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriau, Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine (Desclée, 1957) 451. On the question of the significance of the deification of rulers see K. Scott, "Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes," AJPh 49 (1928) 137-166; 217-239, and A. D. Nock, "Σύνναος Θεός," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 41 (1930) 1-62.

"shine forth" (3.7).[212]

Against this background of the hellenistic tracts on kingship it is possible to understand more clearly the anthropology reflected in Ps-Solomon's treatment of his own weakness and that of all men in general in the three texts mentioned above, namely, Wis 7.1-6; 8.19-20, and 9.15. These must now be analyzed for an evaluation of hellenistic influence.

(1) Wis 7.1-6. This is Ps-Solomon's description of his birth. Although a king of surpassing wisdom and a favorite of divine Wisdom, by nature he is simply "a mortal man, just like everyone" else (7.1). In describing his coming into the world he makes several allusions to anthropological themes found in pagan literature. Hellenistic philosophers advised kings to make humble admission of their humanity as a means of avoiding pride. How he can avoid arrogance is one of the questions that the king puts to the Jewish sages in the banquet scene of the

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[212]For the king as a light see Ecphantus 273.5. Other texts in Delatte, Traités, 72; he discusses the widespread use of this figure in writers on public morality on pp. 195-198. Hence, no need exists to see an allusion to astral speculation and to emend the text of Wis 3.7, as suggested by A. Dupont-Sommer, "De l'immortalité dans la 'Sagesse de Salomon'," REG 62 (1949) 80-87, on p. 80. His conjecture is noted but not adopted by J. Ziegler. Actually, the allusion is probably to Ob 18, as M. Delcor points out, "L'immortalité de l'âme dans le Livre de la Sagesse et dans les documents de Qumrân," NRT 77 (1955) 614-630, on p. 620. Compare also Zech 12.6.

Letter of Aristeas. The answer is for him to remember that, although he rules over men, he is still a man.[213] The detail about inhaling "the common air" (7.3) echoes a theme from hellenistic comedy, the mirror of contemporary morals.[214] In saying that his first sound was that of "crying" (7.3), Ps-Solomon alludes to a fact observed often by hellenistic scientific and historical writers, as F. Focke established in a long note.[215] And contrary to the entire biblical tradition, he follows pagan science in affirming that his gestation extended over a "ten-month period" (7.2).[216]

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[213]Letter of Aristeas 262-263. Other pagan texts are cited in W. L. Knox, Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity 71. Ecphantus 272.11-12 notes that the king has a body like the rest of man. There is no allusion to a pre-existing soul in this description of Wis.

[214]See Menander 531.8; Fg 6.6 (Brunck), and Philemo, cited by Grimm, p. 140. The word ἀήρ "air" belongs to scientific vocabulary; it occurs in Wis seven times, in contrast to only three occurrences in the entire LXX.

[215]F. Focke, Entstehung, 126-131. See also Aristotle, Hist. Anim. 587a28; Epicurus, Fg 398 (Usener); Pliny NH 7.72. The fact that Zoroaster laughed at birth was interpreted as a sign of precocious character and divine favor.

[216]See references cited in Chapter I, notes 42-43; the hellenistic 4 Mc 16.7 also speaks of a ten-month pregnancy.

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(2) Wis 8.19-20. This text is perhaps the most controversial of the whole book. To be correctly understood it must be seen as balancing the earlier description of Ps-Solomon's birht (7.1-6). However, as will be explained below, it is not a repetition of the story of his coming into the world. Rather, it forms the link between the long autobiographical account of his experience with divine Wisdom and his moving prayer to have her help in carrying out his kingly role. In this context, it should be translated:

> I was a child of good natural disposition
> and obtained an honorable soul--
> or rather, being honorable, I reached a body without taint.[217]

This text has often been cited as proof that the author accepted the Platonic conception of the soul and its pre-existence. Hence those who consider this Platonic anthropology false tend to minimize all pagan influence on the author in arguing that he did not hold the pre-existence of the soul. Such a reaction is not necessary. Any direct dependence upon Plato in this sentence

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[217]The adjective ἀμίαντος "without taint," which occurs also in 3.13 and 4.2, here has the moral and religious connotations found for the word in pagan Greek literature.

has been disproved by two independent studies, one made by P. Heinisch,[218] whose conclusion was accepted by E. Gärtner,[219] and the other by F. C. Porter,[220] whose conclusions were approved by M. J. Lagrange,[221] J. Fichtner,[222] and H. Bückers.[223] The Sage never speaks of the soul in the Platonic sense of being "older" than the body,[224] and from the more developed passage of 15.8-13, it is clear that he views the body-soul relationship in terms of Aristotelian hylomorphism and in the light of hellenistic medical theories, an influence pointed out

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[218]P. Heinisch, Philosophie, 88-89.

[219]E. Gärtner, Komposition, 30.

[220]Frank Chamberlin Porter, "The Pre-existence of the Soul in the Book of Wisdom and in Rabbinical Writings," AJT 12 (1908) 53-115, especially on pp. 73-74; where the text is analyzed. He opposes the interpretation of Grimm, Pfleiderer, and Menzel. F. Focke, Entstehung, 91, accepts Porter's argument, but sees some allusion to the pre-existence of the soul in Wis 15.8, 11, 16; 16.14 as well as in 8.19-20.

[221]M. J. Lagrange, in his review of F. Focke's study of Wis, RB 28 (1919) 267-272, on p. 269. His judgment is approved by J. Coert Rylaarsdam, Revelation in Jewish Wisdom Literature (U. of Chicago, 1946) 40.

[222]J. Fichtner, Weisheit Salomos, 35.

[223]H. Bückers, Die Unsterblichkeitslehre des Weisheitsbuches: ihr Ursprung und ihre Bedeutung, 143.

[224]See Plato, Laws 892a, 896c, 967b.

recently by P. Beauchamp.[225]

His anthropology is best described as a working combination of three factors: the discoveries of Greek medicine, the influence of hellenistic religious philosophy as it interpreted Plato's late moralizing writings,[226] and the principles of Aristotelian psychology, which considers the soul as the "form" or "perfection" of the body.[227] It is important to keep

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[225]Paul Beauchamp, "Salut," Bib 45 (1964) 516-519. The term ὕλη "matter," found in 15.13, appears in the technical philosophical sense in 11.17. This is not Platonic, but was developed first by Aristotle; see P. Louis, Albinus. Epitomé (Paris, 1945) 48, and Adolf Bonhoffer, Epiktet und das Neue Testament (Berlin, 1964) 262.

[226]See Plato, Laws 896f and 904-905, where he speaks of evil souls. Plato's final opinion of the mastery of the soul over its fate is discussed by A. J. Festugière, "Platon et l'Orient," Revue de Philologie 21 (1947) 5-45. The author of Wis never applies the adjective "immortal" to the soul, and rejects the Platonic notion that its highest part is divine; see Alcibiades I, 133c. He also differs from Plato in his teaching on the origin of the body. For Plato the bodies of men are fashioned by planetary gods; see Timaeus 42d7-e2. The Sage teaches that God alone is creator of everything.

[227]See Aristotle, De anima, Book 2. It is not correct, therefore, to attribute indiscriminately to the author of Wis both the Platonic and Aristotelian doctrine on the soul, as D. B. Macdonald does in The Hebrew Philosophical Genius. A Vindication, 99, 103. His evaluation that Wis presents the soul as having "the Aristotelian 'energy,' physical and mental," on p. 109, is correct. James Drummond, "The Wisdom of Solomon," in Philo Judaeus (2 vol; London, 1888) 1. 177-229, treats the anthropology of Wis; he notes that the Sage links personality to the soul rather than to the body. The emphasis on soul is mirrored in the designation of idols as ἄψυχα "soulless" (13.17; 14.29), a term used nowhere else in the Bible. Idols have existence only in matter, but no real life or personality.

in mind that the Sage does not consider body and soul as two independent substances. He shows no influence of the metaphysical conception of the soul elaborated in the earlier Platonic diologues, which presented the νοῦς "mind," that is, the superior part of the soul, as something belonging to the divine sphere. Nor does he subscribe to the development within the Platonic tradition by those philosophers who considered the soul as "a thing essentially divine and essentially immortal and of an immeasurable superiority to the body, needing only purification and freedom from carnal contacts to enjoy God forever."[228] On the contrary, his usage of the term "mind" in synonymous parallelism with "soul" (9.15) designates it as the origin of personal moral decision, and this conception adheres to the ethical usage of Aristotle, who calls man his "mind."[229]

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[228]A. D. Nock, Conversion, 248. For late hellenistic speculation on the soul see Hans Levy, "Aristotle and the Jewish Sage according to Clearchus of Soli," HTR 31 (1938) 205-235.

[229]Aristotle, NE 1178a2-4; see Plato, Laws 959b, "We are our souls," in his moralizing sense. See Jean Vanier, Le Bonheur principe et fin de la morale aristotélicienne (Paris: Desclée, 1965) 273, 430-436. The same parallel, soul and mind, appears in Ps-Heraclitus, Letter 9 (78.25). The analysis given here appears with M. J. Lagrange, "Le livre de la Sagesse, sa doctrine des fins dernières," RB 16 (1907) 85-104, on p. 89. Note the introduction of νοῦς into Jb 7.20 and 36.19LXX.

Conscious that even the most gifted human being needs divine Wisdom to be pleasing to God (9.6), Ps-Solomon is interested in arriving at a clearer understanding of the psychological and moral implications of the body-soul relationship for man during this earthly existence. He does not turn to abstract speculation about the origin and nature of the soul, which he accepts as being breathed into men by God, the personal creator. His primary concern is practical.[230] Having begun this biographical section with a detailed explanation of the humble origin of even the wise king (7.1-6), he goes on to explain that all of his purely human qualities and resources were not sufficient to ensure him of the possession of divine Wisdom. It is in the course of this explanation that he distinguishes between body and soul and contrasts the role of the two. As F. C. Porter expressed it, his decision was in favor of "the Greek tendency to connect the personality with the soul" rather than the Hebrew tendency to connect it with the body."[231]

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[230] Wis 16.11. For God as creator, see Wis 1.14; 2.23; 10.1; 11.7; 13.3.

[231] F. C. Porter, art. cit., 60-61. J. A. T. Robinson notes Wis' distinction between soul and body, The Body, 12.

The term "body" in this connection means the living, visible organism in the sense of the often quoted sentence of H. Wheeler Robinson, "The Hebrew idea of personality is an animated body, and not an incarnate soul."[232] In substance, this interpretation is accepted by A. Gelin, who contrasts the anthropology of the Book of Wisdom with that of the Hebrew biblical tradition because in Wis 8.19-20 and 9.15, "the personality is linked to the soul, and the body weighs it down."[233]

Hebrew writers, on the contrary, designated the entire person with the term "spirit" (nepeš) or "flesh" (bśr). They viewed the whole man without analysis "as a unit of vital power."[234] Thus, when a man is called bśr, his entire personality

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[232]Quoted from his Hebrew Psychology, 362, by A. Hulsbosch, "Biblisches und scholastisches Denken," Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift 70 (1961) 129-155, on p. 135. Summary in Theology Digest 12 (1964) 84-89. Hulsbosch explains that Jews view man as an "absolute unity," whose "intellectual and sensitive activities manifest themselves in the corporeal."

[233]A. Gelin, "homme," Catholicisme, hier, aujourd'hui, demain (Paris, 1949--) 5. 876-879, on 878.

[234]Michael Baily, "Biblical Man and Some Formulae of Christian Teaching," ITQ 27 (1960) 173-200, on pp. 177-178. The lack of analysis shows the popular character of biblical anthropology in contrast to that of hellenistic philosophy.

is designated under the aspect of "man's mortal weakness."[235] In like manner, the biblical term nefeš embraced the whole being of man as living in his flesh and sustained by the life-breath of his animated body, source and visible sign of life.[236] As such, the nefeš was not considered as origin of moral dignity by the Jews, who did not consider it capable of maintaining a satisfying existence apart from a fleshy body. Hence, when Ps-Solomon deliberately accentuates the distinct roles of soul and body in 8.19, he is not speaking in terms of Hebrew anthropology. The same is true of 9.15, to be treated below.

Some doubt could arise as to whether the author is thinking in terms of the hellenistic distinction between soul and body in Wis 1.4, or simply using Hebrew parallelism.[237]

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[235]R. E. Murphy, "BŠR in the Qumrân Literature and SARKS in the Epistle to the Romans," Sacra Pagina 2. 60-76, on p. 65.

[236]See "Soul" in X. Léon-Dufour, ed., Dictionary of Biblical Theology. Eng. tr. under direction of J. Cahill (N.Y.: Desclée, 1967) 495-497. Note, however, the oversimplification in reducing the question of the soul to "two mentalities, the Semitic and the Platonic." The Hebrew word nephesh often means "self" in the Bible; L. Koehler, Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros, p. 627, states that this usage occurs 223 times. See also the remarks of James Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language (Oxford, 1961) 12.

[237]See R. Cornely, Commentarius in Librum Sapientiae, 48. He himself opts for a clear distinction in this text.

The text reads:

> into a malicious (κακότεχνον) soul wisdom will not enter nor dwell in a body indebted (κατάχρεως) to sinfulness.

A comparison with statements in Chapter 15, where the author uses similar vocabulary, will help to resolve the doubt. The term "malicious" used here to describe an evil man's soul occurs in the Bible again only in Wis 15.4, as the attribute of human devising. The text is discussing man's intellectual powers and the moral implications of their use, not treating man's purely physical existence.[238] The similarity of the two passages favors the opinion that in both cases the Sage looks on man's soul as the director of his moral life. As the determinge element of his personality, it fulfills the role of the "form" of the body in the Aristotelian sense. In addition, the figure underlying the term "indebted" recurs in 15.8 in a text that clearly contrasts body and soul. Man's body is born of earth; he enjoys his soul only temporarily on loan, because God may demand χρέος "payment" at any time.[239] The

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[238]The term "devising" occurs also in Wis 6.16; 9.14; 14.12; it appears also in Jer 20.10; Sir 40.3; 2 Mc 12.45.

[239]The image of the soul as borrowed occurs in Plutarch, Cons. ad Apoll., ch. 10; cited in Grimm, p. 257. In Wis 15.16 and 18, "soul" and "spirit" are used as synonyms.

author of Wis, therefore, remains consistent in his hellenistic anthropology when considering points of moral responsibility.[240]

This does not mean that he rejects the biblical insistence on the unity of the human being in his moral and emotional activity; in fact, he uses, the Greek equivalents of the Hebrew terms ruaḥ "spirit," lēb "heart," and kilyâ "reins."[241] Yet he appreciated the value of the analytic studies of Greek philosophers, especially those influenced by Aristotle's scientific investigations, and incorporated the fruit of their research into his own understanding of the relationship between soul and body.[242] He was thus able to identify man's psycho-

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[240]J. Drummond, op. cit., 1. 209, analyzes Wis 1.4 and remarks that personality here is linked to the soul. Yet the Sage does not say that the body is the source of sin. He simply recognizes that it can be devoted to sinful tendencies. The same truth underlies Wis 9.15.

[241]Wis employs the Greek equivalent of heart 6 times; of spirit 20 times, and of reins in 1.6. See Pierre Grelot, "L'eschatologie de la Sagesse et les Apocalypse juives," A la rencontre de Dieu 165-178, especially p. 176. Implicitly C. Tresmontant, Essai sur la pensée hebraïque (Paris, 1953) recognizes the hellenistic anthropology of Wis by making no reference to it in treating biblical anthropology.

[242]See Aristotle, Meta 8.6 (1045b8) and his treatise De anima. In this tract he defines the soul as the "first actuality of a physical body that possesses life in potency," 412a. Both expressions used in Wis 15.11, "operative soul" and "life-giving breath" come from Greek medicine, as explained in Chapter I, note 79.

logical personality with his soul as his superior and determining element, and still attribute a role to the body in man's moral activity. And it is precisely this practical moral purpose that explains the construction of the sentence under consideration, Wis 8.19-20. Despite the negative judgment of P. Grelot that it is a "clumsy construction," most commentators recognize that Ps-Solomon is employing the literary figure of paraleipsis or pretermission (praetermissio).[243] By reversing his first expression, he shows that the soul, rather than the body, is the fundamental element of the human personality and dynamic factor in its moral dignity. For this reason F. C. Porter calls this insight "a significant landmark in the development of thought."[244]

One final task remains in the analysis of Wis 8.19-20, namely, to determine the joining of soul and body to which Ps-Solomon is referring. Most commentators take for granted that he speaks of their initial coming together in the womb, but E. Gärtner has brought two serious objections against that inter-

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[243] See M. J. Lagrange, RB 29 (1919) 269; P. Heinisch, Philosophie, 96; F. C. Porter, art. cit., 67-69. P. Grelot, "L'eschatologie des Esséniens et le Livre d'Hénoch," RevQum 1 (1958) 113-131, on p. 120.

[244] F. C. Porter, ibid., 70. For the soul as bearer of personality, see Wis 3.1, 13; 4.14; 10.16; 17.15.

pretation. First, the author would scarcely start speaking about his birth once again after his detailed explanation of all the perfections bestowed upon the just man by divine Wisdom. As explained on pp. 97-98, the ordering of this part of the book is carefully worked out. Second, the expression used for this union is not the author's manner of describing motion in space. On two occasions he uses the normal Greek idiom εἰσέρχομαι εἰς "come into" to describe the coming of wisdom into man's soul (1.4; 10.16). Here, on the contrary, he employs the simple ἔρχομαι εἰς because he is speaking about the attainment of a certain interior perfection, namely, the perfect integration of the human personality of the wise man, the fullest effective union of his body and soul.[245] In other words, Gärtner has correctly recognized that in this text Ps-Solomon affirms that even when a man reaches the highest degree of human perfection, the condition in which his soul gains complete mastery over his body, he still falls short of what he needs to please God. As such, this sentence forms an appropriate introduction to his prayer for the gift of divine Wisdom that alone can make him pleasing to God (9.6). It also brings out once again

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[245]E. Gärtner, Komposition 30-31; see L-S-J, ἔρχομαι B, p. 695.

that he saw an intrinsic and necessary link between body and soul as integral parts of man and not as separate substances.

This interpretation clarifies the deliberately intended ambiguity in the use of ἐγκρατής in the following verse (8.21). The Latin opts for one interpretation in translating the term as continens "chaste" under the influence of the previous phrase "body without taint." The author wanted this word to provide a literary allusion to the virtue of chastity that was considered as necessary for the ideal ruler in the tracts on kingship.[246] Yet he wished the term to be understood in its more fundamental meaning of "possessor." No man can be possessor, namely, of Wisdom, unless God send her to him. Hence, the following prayer.

Through the saving power of divine Wisdom, which he was enjoying even before he was conscious of it (9.18; 7.12), Ps-Solomon is able to lead the kind of life in this world that overcomes both interior and exterior obstacles to his carrying out of the divine plan.[247] The recognition of a progression

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[246]See Ecphantus 279.6. A. Delatte treats the stress on this virtue in the tracts on kingship, Traités, 240-243.

[247]See Wis 9.15, which will be explained in the next section, and 4.10-14, treated above, on p. 173.

between the two "biographical" notices of 7.1-6 and 8.19-20 is a help in understanding that the author's interest in anthropology is practical. His goal is to clarify the relation between man's good will and God's grace, to explain how and why man must seek God in simplicity of heart (1.1). In the "book of Wisdom proper" (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21) Ps-Solomon shows that this quest is actually man's response to the search begun by divine Wisdom (6.13-16). Only gradually does she make the wise man see that he is helpless and "nothing" without her (8.21; 9.6). Only she can enable him to know the divine will in his present condition (9.17) and eventually reach the salvation to which she brought the heroes of sacred history (9.19--10.21).[248]

This interpretation of Wis 8.19-20 by E. Gärtner eliminates the very basis of those who argue for Platonic influence upon it. Rather, the idea is similar to the statement of Philo

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[248] A. Jaubert, La notion d'Alliance dans le Judaisme, p. 424, attributes the "difficulties of expression" in Wis 6.19 and 9.17 to the author's attempt to reconcile the "divine transendence and human responsibility." Throughout all parts of his work the Sage was conscious of this mystery and used both the events of sacred history as types and the advances of hellenistic philosophy to penetrate it.

that an excellent body is a divine blessing for aiding the practice of virtue. God "harmonizes" the bodies of the good to their noble souls.[249] In the light of the practical bent of his anthropology can Ps-Solomon's comment upon human weakness now is considered.

(3) Wis 9.15. This couplet may be translated:

For perishable body wearies soul
and the earthy tent weighs down far-reflecting mind.

Paul Heinisch has argued convincingly that critics misuse this sentence when they cite it as proof that the author was dependent upon Plato for his conception of the body-soul relationship. The vocabulary is found in Phaedo 81c, but there Plato uses the words "soul, heavy, weigh down" in a metaphysical sense. On the contrary, Ps-Solomon employs them in the moralizing sense current in poetic texts and kingship tracts

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[249]Philo, De praemiis et poenis 20. In 4 Mc 18.23, the martyrs are said to receive "chaste and immortal souls from God" at death. Democritus describes a court process between soul and body at death to determine which is responsible; in it the relationship between the two is described in the same verb λαγχάνω "obtained," used in the Old Testament only in Wis 8.19 and in a variant in 1 Kg 14.47 LXX; see Diels, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker 2, Democritus, Fg. 159.

to describe personal moral conduct.[250] The parallel to Job 4.19 suggested by Heinisch himself is not convincing, because there man is said to dwell in a house of clay, not in a tent.[251] Both the imagery and the specific word σκῆνος "tent" to designate the human body are more in keeping with the reminder often given to hellenistic kings that they live in the same kind of "tent" as other mortals do.[252] In other words, even the wise man grows old; he too feels human weakness, the drag of a tired body. It no longer reacts readily and cannot carry out the

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[250]P. Heinisch, Philosophie, pp. 51-55, studies pagan texts in which this vocabulary appears in the way that Wis uses them. By contrast, in Plato, Phaedo 81c, what weighs down the soul is not the body itself, but the soul's love for bodily pleasures. Another difference from Plato, for whom the "mind" is the higher or divine part of the "soul," is that the two terms are used in synonmyous parallelism in Wis 9.15. For other texts that treat of the body's drag upon the soul in the moral sense see Delatte, Traités, 188-190; he notes the similarity to the text in Wis.

[251]The Hebrew text of Jb 4.21 contains the image of tent ropes being pulled up as a poetic expression of death, but this is changed in the LXX, upon which Wis depends. For the comparison of death to the folding of a tent, see Is 38.12.

[252]Ecphantus 272.11; text in Delatte, Traités, 28. He traces the history of this word in Greek literature on pp. 177-181. It appears in the figurative sense from the pre-Socratics without interruption to Hermetic writings, but is never found in the Hebrew Bible. Paul employs it in 2 Cor 5.4.

plans of a "far-reflecting mind." Under such conditions the opposition between matter and spirit becomes increasingly evident. Ps-Solomon, therefore, is not referring to the tendencies of later hellenistic mysticism, which opposed soul and body in man, but simply speaks from personal observation.[253] A. Delatte finds the "same idea" expressed in two passages in pagan literature. A fragment of the Pythagorean Onatas preserved by Stobaeus states that "the earthy mixture of the body defiles the purity of the soul," and Ecphantus taught that on earth man is "weighed down by a large portion of earth."[254]

From the preceding analyses it is clear that the influence of Hellenism upon the author's anthropology is deeper than a simple borrowing of its "precise categories" in order to present ideas already current in Jewish writings of the intertestamental period, as P. Grelot stated.[255] His ability to "develop and give them precision by the use of Greek anthropology"

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[253]Mystical texts are cited in Delatte, ibid., 190.

[254]Texts in Delatte, ibid., 189.

[255]P. Grelot, "L'eschatologie des Esséniens et le Livre d'Hénoch," RevQum 1 (1958) 123. Grelot, who introduces the anthropology of Wis only in passing, equates it too easily with the much simpler teaching of Enoch on pp. 119-120; 122-123.

was only part of his genius. The influence of positive contributions to this science by hellenistic philosophy is manifest in his work. The Sage admired its insights into the human ideal and incorporated many of them into his own original synthesis of man's real destiny in the divine plan.

Conclusion

The first chapter of this work studied the vocabulary and style of the Book of Wisdom insofar as they differ from the other canonical books of the Old Testament. This chapter has attempted to determine the degree to which hellenistic culture influenced the inspired author's thinking. The results do not contradict the theological continuity of the book with the Hebrew Bible as explained by P. W. Skehan and G. Ziener.[256] But The Sage did more than simply state earlier biblical teaching in a new form. He writes with the conviction that Jewish culture had come of age and needed to put forth its ideals in a sophisticated literary form. He not only interprets but makes a personal elaboration in order to "present a new synthesis in

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[256]P. W. Skehan, Literary Relationship between the Book of Wisdom and the Protocanonical Wisdom Books of the Old Testament; G. Ziener, Die theologische Begriffssprache im Buche der Weisheit.

a language that the new age would understand."[257] He flattered the learning of his readers by his universal suppression of all proper names from sacred history, even when this causes great obscurity in the text, and by avoiding biblical expressions that would have seemed out of place in a cultured milieu, such as "fear of the Lord" and the "firmament" of the heavens.[258] To show that revelation had a significance for those living in a cosmopolitan society the author deliberately appropriated technical terms from Greek learning, made use of pagan literary

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[257]Alexander A. Di Lella, "Conservative and Progressive Theology: Sirach and Wisdom," CBQ 28 (1966) 139-154, on p. 147. See P. Beauchamp, "Le salut corporel des justes et la conclusion du livre de la Sagesse," Bib 45 (1964) 491-525; on p. 516 he shows some typical hellenistic cosmological and medical speculation in Wis 16.17 and 19.20. In his review of Ziener's thesis, W. C. Van Unnik criticizes him for failure to recognize Greek influence upon the anthropology of Wis, JSS 3 (1958) 93-94. Actually, Ziener notes Greek influence on Wis in many places; for example, on Wis 13.1-8, p. 134; on Wis 7.22-24, pp. 144-148; on ideas of world harmony, pp. 155-156; for the philosophical treatment of miracles, p. 150; for new divine titles, p. 47. But his summaries tend to minimize this in favor of insisting upon theological continuity with the Old Testament.

[258]The only two proper place names in the book are both Greek: Pentapolis, a term not found elsewhere in the Bible, in 10.6, and Red Sea in 10.18 and 19.7. At times the author uses terms in a sense different from the LXX; for example, "signs and wonders" (8.18) refer not to God's saving actions but to laws governing the universe; see C. Grimm, in loco, 172. H. Heinisch treats the omission of proper names in "Griechische Philosophie und Altes Testament II. Septuaginta und Buch der Weisheit," Biblische Zeitfragen 7 (1914) 87-122, on pp. 108, 113.

traditions, and employed stylistic devices of hellenistic rhetoric foreign to the usage of the LXX. To have done this as successfully as he did would have been impossible for one who lacked literary training, including the study of pagan authors. Most of the study in secondary education at the time was devoted to interpreting literary texts, for rhetoric was "queen of subjects."[259]

To call this synthesis a mere "veneer" or "hellenistic luster," as F. Focke does,[260] fails to give proper recognition to the Sage's originality. His work is a practical example of how his ardent faith was able to contemplate the marvels of revelation and then use his insights as a means of integrating advances in human learning and culture into an apologia for the divine plan of salvation for mankind. The defense of the God of revelation and of his working in history has been called an attempt at a "fusion" of two cultures.[261] In reality, however,

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[259]H. I. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity (trans. by G. Lamb; N.Y., 1956) 166, 194. The writings of Dionysius Halicarnassus illustrate how the study of texts served as the ordinary method of learning literary style. The influence of poetic diction and vocabulary is noticeable in the Book of Wisdom. J. A. F. Gregg finds the author "almost Aeschylian" in his fondness for compound words, The Wisdom of Solomon, xv.

[260]F. Focke, Entstehung, p. 92.

[261]This is the term used by Moses Hadas, "Plato in Hellenistic Fusion," Journal of the History of Ideas 19 (1958) 3-13.

the Sage does not place his faith and Hellenism on the same level. For him revelation is more fundamental; it is the integrating element of both the personal destiny of the individual and the common destiny of mankind. His deep faith in God's omnipotent love and care for all creatures impels him to draw freely from a wide variety of sources. Even when condemning paganism for its failure to come to a recogniton of the one Maker of the universe, he adapts its learning and intense religious spirit. No view tending toward exclusivism does justice to his encyclopedic learning and openness of spirit.[262]

The principal areas of hellenistic culture that have influenced the Sage are Epicurean speculation as exercised in the Isis cult, and anthropological and ethical teachings found in the treatises on kingship. These influences, far from deforming the theology developed in the Hebrew Bible, provided an impetus for the Sage to explain the religious nature of man's immortality, to reflect upon the mysterious workings of divine grace, and to answer objections against the workings of divine providence. With an understanding of these hellenistic influences, it will now be possible to treat the three questions that will occupy the rest of this study: the literary genre of the book, the audience addressed, and the work's unity.

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[262]See P. Beauchamp, art. cit., 520.

CHAPTER III

THE LITERARY GENRE OF THE BOOK OF WISDOM

From his investigation of the theology of the Book of Wisdom, G. Ziener concluded, "Many aspects of Greek philosophy exercised deep influence upon the book."[1] The literary, historical, psychological, and religious parallels with hellenistic writings studied in the previous two chapters make it possible to enlarge upon Ziener's conclusion. Other areas of Hellenism, especially popular religion, ethical speculation, anthropology, and rhetoric, also influenced the Sage, who was essentially a religious thinker rather than a speculative, professional philosopher. This chapter investigates hellenistic influence upon the author's method of presentation.

The literary genre of any composition forms the background against which it must be understood and appreciated. "It is vain to search into the meaning of a work until its

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[1]Georg Ziener, Die theologische Begriffssprache im Buche der Weisheit (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1956) 159. He also notes extensive contacts with Greek philosophy in Bib 38 (1957) 397.

outer literary form has been determined," wrote R. G. Moulton.[2] This chapter will attempt to show that the "larger" literary genre of Wis is the logos protrepticos or protreptic, a literary form common in hellenistic times. Into this principal genre are integrated three "smaller" ones, "capable of incorporation into a larger" literary genre.[3] Before treating this topic in Wis, it will be good to clarify the notion of genre itself, because, as L. Alonso Schökel states, "it is not always easy to understand the literary genre of a particular narration."[4] In fact, when he comes to the point of proposing a definition, he is content simply to list the relationships and elements involved in a work, namely, the special topic, the particular structure or internal form, and the individual stylistic devices that recur regularly.[5]

The descriptive definition proposed by A. Warren will

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[2]Richard G. Moulton, The Literary Study of the Bible. Second edition (N.Y., 1899) 329.

[3]For terminology see L. Alonso Schökel, "Literary Genres, Biblical," New Catholic Encyclopedia, 8. 303-309. The duty of Catholic exegetes to study literary genres of inspired books is treated in Pope Pius XII, Divino Affiante Spiritu, AAS 35 (1943) 316 (Enchiridion Biblicum, 3rd ed., 557).

[4]L. Alonso Schökel, "Genera litteraria," VD 38 (1960) 3-15, on p. 15.

[5]Ibid., p. 13.

serve as the basis for the considerations of this notion:

> Genre should be conceived, we think, as a grouping of literary works based, theoretically, upon both outer form (specific meter or structure) and also upon inner form (attitude, tone, purpose--more accurately, subject and audience). The ostensible basis may be one or the other (e.g., "pastoral" and "satire" for the inner form; dipodic verse and Pindaric ode for outer); but the critical problem will then be to find the <u>other</u> dimension, to complete the diagram.[6]

The elements included in this description are helpful in inserting the complex Book of Wisdom into its proper literary milieu. The great variety both in subject matter and in literary procedures in a book of less than 7,000 words has given rise to conflicting analyses as to its structure, and to disagreement about its unity. We have discussed the question of structure elsewhere,[7] and will deal with problems of unity and persons addressed in this next chapter.

In this chapter are assembled considerations indicating that the Sage composed his work in a hellenistic literary genre. They are divided into two main parts:

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[6]René Wellek and Austin Warren, <u>Theory of Literature</u> (N.Y., 1942) 241, in the chapter on "Literary Genres."

[7]James M. Reese,"Plan and Structure in the Book of Wisdom," <u>CBQ</u> 27 (1965) 391-399. The present chapter will offer additional considerations in terms of smaller literary genres why the structure of the book into four parts must be maintained even after the study of Addison G. Wright, "The Structure of the Book of Wisdom," <u>Biblica</u> 48 (1967) 165-184.

1) the study of the smaller genres found in the four parts of Wis, proceeding from the parts easier to classify to the more difficult, namely:

A. Part IV: the book of history (11.1-14 + 16.1--19.22);

B. Part II: the book of Wisdom proper (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21);

C. Part I: the book of eschatology (1.1--6.11 + 6.17-20);

D. Part III: the book of divine justice and human folly (11.15--15.19).

2) an attempt to explain why the book as a whole belongs to the genre of protreptic.

A. The Book of History (11.1-14 + 16.1--19.22)

The author's thorough knowledge of Old Testament history is evident from his skillful use and adaptation of its events in this part of his work. For this reason, this portion of the Book of Wisdom is often called a midrash, an example of "an exegesis which, going beyond the simple literal sense, tries to penetrate into the spirit of Scripture, to scrutinize the text more profoundly and to draw from it interpretations that are not immediately obvious."[8] The essential note of midrash, as A. G. Wright explains, is that it is "literature about a literature." Hence, he defines midrash as "a work that attempts to

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[8]Renée Bloch, "Midrash," DBS 5. 1264-1265.

make a text of Scripture understandable, useful and relevant for a later generation."[9]

The first attempt to explain the historical narratives found in Wis in terms of midrash seems to have been made by K. Kohler, who wrote that Wis 9.18--19.22 "appears on close observation to be part of a Passover Haggadah recited in Egypt with reference to Gentile surroundings."[10] His opinion was accepted in 1912 by E. Gärtner.[11] The term midrash itself appears in the introduction to the English translation of Wis by Samuel Holmes. He describes Wis 11.2--19.18 as "a Midrash in glorification of the Jews . . . broken by a dissertation on the origin and evils of idolatry."[12] It is noteworthy that these first three commentators to classify the last part of Wis as midrash also considered it as originally an independent work, written by a different author from the man who had composed

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[9]Addison G. Wright, The Literary Genre Midrash (Staten Island: Alba House, 1967) 74.

[10]K. Kohler, "Wisdom of Solomon," Jewish Encyclopedia (N.Y., 1906) 12. 539.

[11]E. Gärtner, Komposition und Wortwahl des Buches der Weisheit (Berlin, 1912) 84.

[12]The work is found in R. H. Charles, ed., The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English (Oxford, 1913) 1. 518-563. With Holmes, this chapter considers the part of Wis that deals with idolatry as a distinct literary genre.

the first part of Wis. Their attitude toward the genre of this part was tied to their polemic against the unity of the work.

Without investigating the genre as such, F. Feldmann made a study of the literary method employed in Wis 10-19 in 1909. He showed that many of the details added by the Sage and not found in the biblical narratives dealing with the Exodus event were also part of Jewish folklore and traditions. Because the Sage used these additions for didactic purposes, Feldmann concluded that he was following the method of haggadic midrash.[13] Later, however, in writing a commentary on Wis, Feldmann scarcely alludes to the midrashic method. Only twice does he single out details as being related to Jewish midrash, namely, the conversion of Adam (10.1), and the fact that the Egyptians knew of the activity of the Jews in the desert (see 16.4; 18.19). The decisive factor in this change of attitude about the method of composition in Wis 10--19 was the important literary study of F. Focke, which will be treated below. Focke's analysis convinced Feldmann that the Sage was not following a Hebrew method of composition, but was composing under the influence of

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[13]Franz Feldmann, "Die literarische Art von Weisheit, Kap 10--19," Theologie und Glaube 1 (1909) 178-184.

a hellenistic literary style.[14] The mere addition of details to those found in the Exodus narratives was not sufficient to make Wis a midrash. As A. G. Wright notes in speaking of Sirach's praise of the Fathers, "The fact that the author uses Scripture, exploits and reorganizes it for edification and contemporary needs is not necessarily a midrashic characteristic."[15] A quest for new historical sources was in progress during the first century B.C. among both Jewish and pagan writers in order to embellish ancient accounts.[16]

In his commentary on Wis in 1909, J. A. F. Gregg distinguished the method of the Sage from that used in midrash. He recognized that the author of Wis took many details in his account from traditional Jewish sources, which he called "Palestinian Midrashim or commentaries." However, he designated Wis itself as a "philosophy of Israelitisch history," in which the author took great liberties with the biblical accounts.

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[14]F. Feldmann, Das Buch der Weisheit (HS des AT 6.4; Bonn, 1926) 5-7, 71, 80. Feldmann, however, rejects Focke's theory that Wis was written by a Pharisee, and that the first five chapters were written originally in Hebrew and translated into Greek by the author of the rest of the book.

[15]Addison G. Wright, An Investigation of the Literary Form Haggadic Midrash in the Old Testament and Intertestamental Literature (Washington: Catholic U. of America, 1965) 189.

[16]Ben Zion Wacholder, Nicolaus of Damascus (Berkeley, 1962) 58.

He adapted his details to serve his own purpose. By presenting the Exodus events as the "beneficent action of Wisdom in history," the Sage produced a unified composition.[17]

A. Causse also refused to include Wis among works that belong to traditional Jewish midrash, for, although the author commented upon Scripture, his methodology differed from that of writings emanating from the church of Jerusalem. The allegorizing of the Palestinian Jews was of a practical nature and was based on details of the biblical text, as can be seen from the haggadic commentaries of the Talmud. The Sage used a different procedure; he preferred a "spiritual" lesson to a literal elaboration. He attempted to "denationalize the Old Testament," as Causse expressed it. And so he departed from the literary forms of the Bible in order to make a bridge between the biblical ideal of wisdom and the Greek philosophical ideal.[18]

In more recent commentaries the term midrash is applied with increasing frequency to this historical section of Wis. E. Osty calls the last four chapters "a type of midrash or

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[17]J. A. F. Gregg, The Wisdom of Solomon (Cambridge U. Press, 1909; reprinted 1922) xiii and 95.

[18]A. Causse, "La propaganda juive et l'hellénisme," RHPhil Rel 3 (1923) 397-414, on pp. 408-414.

rabbinic commentary,[19] and G. M. Camps speaks of Wis 10--19 as a "typical midrash."[20] Less certain are C. Lattey, who says that these chapters "may be conforming to" the literary form of midrash,[21] and M. Delcor, who describes it as "midrashic genre."[22] J. Reider fluctuates in his use of the term in dealing with Wis. He classifies the entire book as midrash in that "it is an exposition of certain parts or passages of the Bible," for the author tends to seize upon an idea in the Bible and "elaborate it in great detail." Yet, Reider singles out the last nine chapters for their "homiletic and haggadic" character.[23]

In an influential article on midrash published after her tragic death in July 1955, Miss Renée Bloch listed Wis among

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[19]E. Osty, Le Livre de la Sagesse (Paris, second fascicle of the BJ, 1957) 95; see also p. 19.

[20]Guiu M. Camps, "Midras sobre la historia de les plagues (Ex 7-12)," Miscellanea biblica B. Ubach (Montserrat, 1953) 97-114.

[21]C. Lattey, in the commentary in B. Orchard, ed., A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture (London, 1953). 510.

[22]M. Delcor, "L'immortalité de l'âme dans le Livre de la Sagesse et dans les documents de Qumrân," NRT 77 (1955) 617.

[23]Joseph Reider, The Book of Wisdom (N.Y., 1957) 40 and 3.

those parts of the Bible "in which are manifest to different degrees the characteristics of midrash," but she avoided the term midrash itself for the book. On the contrary, she admitted that the author "utilizes freely the language, ideas, and culture of the hellenistic world."[24] R. T. Siebeneck, on the other hand, roots the entire book firmly in the genre of midrash. He calls chapters 1--9 "a midrash on previous wisdom literature," and then goes on to state, "The midrash of Wis 10--19 is but the terminus of a genre that was developing throughout the OT postexilic period."[25] R. E. Murphy lists the sections on redemptive history as examples of the genre of midrash, namely, 10.1-21; 11.2-12, 27; 15.18--19.22.[26] E. Maly places Wis 11-19 in the category of a midrash by calling them "one of the best examples of midrashic history in the Bible."[27] A similar opinion is expressed by R. H. Pfeiffer, who states that the Sage uses haggadic interpretation.[28] S. Lyonnet, who

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[24]R. Bloch, "Midrash," DBS 5. 1274.

[25]Robert T. Siebeneck, "The Midrash of Wisdom 10--19," CBQ 22 (1960) 176-182, on pp. 178 and 182.

[26]Roland E. Murphy, Seven Books of Wisdom (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1960) 130.

[27]Eugene H. Maly, The Book of Wisdom (N.Y., 1962) 24.

[28]R. H. Pfeiffer, History of New Testament Times, 334.

deals only with Wis 18.21-25 in connection with the question of expiation, calls this passage a "midrashic" commentary.[29] The recent study of this genre by A. G. Wright finds Wis 11-19 "a very useful biblical illustration of what a midrash is."[30] And in a more pastoral article, J. Cantó Rubio deals with the entire book as an example of midrashic literature.[31]

Before calling this designation into question, it is necessary to discuss the terms "midrash" and "midrashic." The distinction raises a question of methodology that was treated in another important article by R. Bloch in her capacity as a specialist on rabbinic literature.[32] She pointed out difficulties encountered in trying to trace the origin of embellishments upon biblical narratives found in rabbinic writings, and she criticized the uncritical use of rabbinical materials by commentators. She insisted that, if these writings are going to be any help in bringing about a better understanding of the

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[29]S. Lyonnet, "Expiation et intercession," Bib 40 (1959) 885-901, on p. 887.

[30]Addison G. Wright, The Literary Genre Midrash, 109; he treates the "homily of Wis 11-19" on pp. 106-110.

[31]Juan Cantó Rubio, "Sabiduría. Sentido pastoral: las reformas y adaptaciones pastorales," Cultura Biblica 23 (1966) 161-172, on p. 170.

[32]R. Bloch, "Note méthodologique pour l'étude de la littérature rabbinique," RSR 43 (1955) 194-227.

Bible, investigators will have to pay more attention to historical development. They must distinguish between "the midrashic genre, which is already present in biblical literature," and "midrash properly so called," which she holds as beginning only with the Targum of Jerusalem.[33]

In the course of her treatment of the traditons from which rabbinic midrash sprang, Miss Bloch finds that they were related in content to Palestinian traditions, but they also contain "personal ideas." In particular, they employ Greek rather than biblical literary genres, namely, "philosophical, poetic, historic" forms, in contrast to the "midrashic, rabbinic" types found in Palestine.[34] In other words, her avoidance of the term "midrash" for the Book of Wisdom was deliberate. She refused to assign to it this term in the sense of a distinct, full-fledged literary genre. Her judgment, therefore,

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[33] Ibid., p. 212. A similar view was presented by Solomon Zeitlin, "Midrash: A Historical Study," JQR 44 (1953-54) 20-36. He concluded that the earliest midrash was not before the third century A.D. An example of disregard for chronology is the statement of E. Osty that Wis 16--19 was composed "according to the example of the midrash or rabbinic commentary," op. cit., p. 19. See also Martin McNamara, The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institue, 1966) for a treatment of problems involved in the control of the Jewish sources.

[34] R. Bloch, ibid., 204.

differed from that of the school of A. Robert, who called midrash "any research on the meaning of Scripture, undertaken in the light of the Bible as a whole with a view of actualizing the implication of the biblical texts, aided to a large extent by the relevant procedures of the oriental imagination."[35]

But even after this distinction between "midrashic" and "midrash" has been made, the problem still remains whether midrash in the Bible should be called a literary genre. "There is no agreement whether Midrash, in the Bible, is a literary genre of its own, or merely an incidental technique of composition."[36] R. Laurentin objects to designating midrash as a genre in his study on the infancy narrative in Luke. "The literary genre of a book or of a section is not sufficiently defined by speaking of midrash, because midrashic reflection can be practiced within widely differing literary forms." He goes on to subordinate Luke's "midrashic plan" to his "historical plan."[37] The question is further complicated by different usage in French and English. As noted above, R. Bloch used the

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[35]A. Robert and R. Tournay, Le Cantique des Cantiques (Paris: Gabalda, 1963) 11.

[36]P. W. Skehan, in the preface to A. G. Wright, The Literary Genre Midrash, 9.

[37]René Laurentin, Structure et théologie de Luc I-II (Paris: Gabalda, 1957) 96, 116-119.

phrase "midrashic genre" of a literary procedure in Judaism distinct from "midrash."

A further difficulty arises in the attempt to classify the literary genres found in hellenistic Jewish writers, because a certain similarity exists between the techniques of Jewish midrash and the procedures of late hellenistic literature, most of which was simply "an expansion and reinterpretation of ancient myth."[38] Hence, in dealing with the writings of these hellenized Jews who were adopting Greek forms, doubt about the exact sources of influence easily arises. In treating "Palestinian midrashim," P. Borgen found "close points of agreements between the Greek and rabbinic style and method of exegesis."[39] Like R. Bloch, he understands midrash as the Palestinian method of interpreting Scripture. It was not limited to one set form but varied widely, from a verse by verse paraphrase of the text to extended homiletic patterns.[40]

In modern times, the term midrash was originally used with respect to content rather than for a literary form. Almost

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[38]Moses Hadas, Hellenistic Culture (N.Y., 1959) 80. See above, p. 49, on the Jewish poet Ezekiel.

[39]peder Borgen, Bread from Heaven (Leiden: Brill, 1965) 60. He considers the Passover haggadah as a homiletic pattern common to both Palestinian and hellenistic Judaism, on p. 51.

[40]Ibid., 60, 98; he studies the homiletic pattern in Philo.

100 years ago J. Freudenthal used the phrase "hellenistic midrash" to identify the works of those Jewish writers after the time of Alexander the Great who were presenting biblical events in Greek literary forms.[41] Writers such as the poet Ezekiel, Eupolemus, and Artapan reflect Jewish interest in the events of sacred history, but they employed genuine Greek literary genres. According to Freudenthal's understanding of the term, Wis would fall into the category of "hellenistic midrash" in its historical parts. Its contents are biblical, namely, the events of the Exodus enriched with later traditions and theological reflections. But the Sage is not simply retelling the story of Exodus. He subordinates the narratives to a didactic aim; they illustrate the principle that God's wisdom governs the entire universe harmoniously, and he directs it infallibly toward the salvation of those who worship him (see 16.17, 22-23; 19.6, 18-21). The Sage has recast scenes from the Bible into a theological justification of God's saving providence (see 19.22). In other words, rather than writing "a literature about a literature," the Sage reflected upon the biblical account and then

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[41]Jacob Freudenthal, Hellenistische Studien (I and II; Breslau, 1875-1879): Alexander Polyhistor, 67, 80.

presented "a new synthesis in a language that the new age would understand."[42]

In developing his synthesis, the author of Wis incorporates a scientific Greek conception of nature that is foreign to the Old Testament view of the world. "He is the first of the inspired writers to attempt an explanation of the biblical wonders in the light of the Greek idea of the harmony of the cosmos."[43] For the writers of the Hebrew Scriptures, nothing was more natural than for God to manifest himself in and through nature. Jewish belief in the Lord of creation made them look upon all nature as "potentially miraculous," in a sense, "already supernatural," immediately subject to God's power.[44] For the more sophisticated author of Wis, however, the universe is an ordered cosmos, governed ultimately by divine power, but immediately subject to its own scientific laws. Hence, for him a direct divine intervention belongs to the realm of the

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[42]Alexander A. Di Lella, "Conservative and Progressive Theology: Sirach and Wisdom," CBQ 28 (1966) 139-154, on p. 147.

[43]E. Maly, The Book of Wisdom, 37.

[44]H. W. Robinson, "The Nature Miracles of the Old Testament," JTS 45 (1944) 1-12, on pp. 4 and 9.

"unexpected" παράδοξον.[45] He is careful to show that, even in effecting the salvation of his people, God respects the established order of the universe (see 11.20; 12.13) and the nature of created beings (19.20). His approach marks a change in perspective from earlier biblical writings. It shows effort to integrate a scientific view of a perfectly ordered universe subject to physical laws into Israel's traditional faith in the free, personal, omnipotent God of revelation.[46] Such a synthesis lies outside of the scope of the genre of midrash.[47]

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[45]Wis 19.5; superlative in 16.17; as noun in 5.2. Elsewhere in the canonical Old Testament the term "unexpected" is found only in Jdt 13.13; Sir 43.25; 2 Mc 9.24. The word is common in Philodemus and Diodorus Siculus, and appears in Ps-Aristotle, De mundo 397a20. A. Festugière remarks that during the hellenistic era a whole literature grew up about the "unexpected," that is, "wonders," especially in medical tracts, La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste (Paris, 1949) 2.241. L. Robert reports that the term was used as an epithet for athletes, actors, and other celebrities, REG 42 (1929) 434. Wis is the only canonical book of the Old Testament to use the philosophical term "nature" as the interior principle of determination (7.20; 13.1; 19.20).

[46]See G. Ziener, Die theologische Begriffssprache im Buche der Weisheit 150-185. (Abbreviated: Begriffssprache).

[47]Moses Hadas calls Wis the first example of this attempted synthesis, "Plato in Hellenistic Fusion," Journal of the History of Ideas 19 (1958) 3-13, on pp. 8-10.

This theological method of constructing a new synthesis contrasts with that of Jewish midrash in which "narratives have free reign, even though they are meant, secondarily, as a running commentary designed to help understand the text."[48]

From a literary point of view, then, the following two objections can be formulated against calling the historical part of the Book of Wisdom a midrash:

a) its style of arranging biblical events in the artificial form of comparisons is never found in any Jewish midrash;[49]

b) it is often difficult to specify the particular biblical text to which the Sage refers, because he combines elements from different narratives, and supplements them with further details.

As a commentary, a midrash follows the text upon which it is

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[48]Manfred R. Lehmann, "1Q Genesis Apocraphon in the Light of the Targumim and Midrashim," RQum 1 (1958-59) 249-263, on p. 255.

[49]F. Focke, Die Entstehung der Weisheit Salomos (Göttingen, 1913) 12-16. (Abbreviated: Entstehung). He studies the form proposed below in "Synkrisis," Hermes 58 (1923) 327-368. On the lack of planned structure in a midrash, see A. G. Wright, "The Literary Genre Midrash," CBQ 28 (1966) 105-138, on p. 119.

based in some orderly fashion.[50]

What literary genre best describes the book of history in Wis (11.1-14 + 16.1--19.22)? F. Focke has demonstrated that the Sage has arranged his material according to the technique of a σύγκρισις "comparison," a genre common in Attic orators and later Greek historians. As noted above, F. Feldmann accepted his approach; this designation has also been preferred to midrash by I. Heinemann and J. Fichtner.[51] Other commentators recognize that the events are arranged in the form of contrasts, and yet retain the designation of midrash.[52] Focke's careful study of the literary form "comparison" in Greek literature, however, shows that this style of composition was highly developed and widespread long before the writing of Wis. Pagan authors made use of comparisons for didactic and

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[50]See G. Ziener, "Die Verwendung der Schrift im Buche der Weisheit," Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift 66 (1957) 138-152, on p. 138. The studies of P. W. Skehan on literary relationships between Wis and other parts of the Old Testament illustrate how Wis borrows in a creative fashion from many parts of the Hebrew Bible.

[51]F. Focke, Entstehung; Johannes Fichtner, Weisheit Salomos (Tübingen, 1938) 6, 42-43; I. Heinemann, Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung (Breslau, 1932) 376-377.

[52]Commentators who speak both of midrash and comparison include E. Osty, C. Lattey, J. Reider, R. T. Siebeneck, R. E. Murphy, E. Maly, P. Beauchamp, and A. G. Wright.

polemic purposes. The author of Wis could not have been ignorant of this genre; it provided a perfect tool to illustrate and justify God's method of dealing with two opposing groups of peoples. In contrast to the popular midrashic style, which remains subordinate to the biblical text, the Sage re-arranges the narratives to produce a series of striking contrasts. At times he modifies biblical details in order to strengthen his presentation, for example, in affirming that the bites of the locusts and flies caused death (16.9), in asserting the didactic purpose of the manna (16.28) and the intercessory role of the high priest (18.24), and by inserting a vivid picture of the psychological effects of fear (17.2-21). All of this is skillfully woven into a forceful defense of God's providence. The literary unity achieved offers an example of deliberate striving for rhetorical effect. R. H. Pfeiffer correctly concludes that "a deliberate effort was made to give the book the structural unity characteristic of Greek writings but entirely foreign to Hebrew wisdom books."[53] The detection of the "Golden Mean ratio" in Wis by A. G. Wright provides further evidence that

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[53]R. H. Pfeiffer, History of New Testament Times, 324.

the Sage was following hellenistic literary models.[54]

The question might be asked whether the discoveries at Qumran offer any evidence in favor of classifying the historical developments in Wis as a midrash. The answer is negative. As yet none of these compositions show any of the hellenistic literary techniques employed by the Sage. Works like the Genesis Apocryphon, which G. Vermes calls the "most ancient midrash," simply elaborate upon the biblical text according to the popular patterns known to Palestinian midrash, without creating an independent literary unity as Wis does. In his long study of haggadic midrash Vermes does not once cite the Book of Wisdom.[55]

Before the discussion of the form of the historical part of Wis is concluded, it should here be noted that the manner of developing these comparisons also points to hellenistic influence. It is not surprising that the Sage has chosen a Greek literary genre when the comparisons show his preoccupation with:

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[54]Addison G. Wright, "Numerical Patterns in the Book of Wisdom," CBQ 29 (1967) 524-538.

[55]Geza Vermes, Scripture and Tradition in Judaism (Leiden: Brill, 1961); the quotation is from p. 124.

a) speculation on the harmony of the elements, and

b) the psychology of fear.

a) The fourth comparison (16.16--17.1) develops around the "most unexpected" use of the element of fire by God (16.17). Fire is the element that formed a basis for much of the hellenistic religious speculation on the fate of the wicked. Greek physics postulated a fiery mass in the interior of the earth. Hellenistic religious thinkers incorporated this theory into their teaching that condemned souls suffered punishment there, as the tract On the Gods of the Epicurean Philodemus indicates.[56] In this comparison the Sage marvels at God's power to suspend the natural qualities of the elements for the benefit of his people.

In the conclusion of his work he returns to similar philosophical reflections on the alteration of the elements during the journey of the chosen people from Egypt, when he affirms that "the elements were interchanged among themselves" (19.18-21). His allusion is to philosophical theories on the harmony of the universe, as is clear from his use of two technical terms never found elsewhere in the canonical books of the OT, namely,

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[56]Philodemus, On the Gods 19.16, cited in Franz Cumont, After Life in Roman Paganism, 176.

στοιχεῖον "element" (19.18; see 7.17), and μεθαρμόζω "interchange." The theory that elements could be interchanged is attributed to Pythagoras, and it was developed by the Neo-Pythagoreans, who also incorporated speculation from the Epinomis, a dialogue attributed to Plato.[57] The Platonic tradition stressed primarily the harmony of the stars and the place of man's soul in it, but natural philosophers investigated harmonies existing between all elements. The latter line of research reflects the influence of Aristotle.[58] For the Stoics of the first century B.C., the earth was one vast living organism in which all parts worked in harmony.[59] According to Pliny, who cites the examples of fire and water, the same elements

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[57]Epinomis 896c. See Diogenes Laertius 2.8.25; F. Cumont, op. cit., 208-212, and Leo Spitzer, "Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony," Traditio 2 (1944) 409-464; 3 (1945) 307-364.

[58]Festugière, op. cit., RHT 2.424, citing De part. anim. 1.5 (645a) to the effect that every class of nature had its wonders. See the study of K. Reinhardt, Kosmos und Sympathie.

[59]See Cicero, De nat. deorum 2, ch. 32-34. A. J. Festugière shows that these ideas had become commonplace and were utilized by all schools in the eclectic spirit prevailing in first century B.C. philosophical writing; see RHT 2. 396-408.

mentioned in Wis 19.20, the continued existence of the universe is dependent upon "cosmic sympathy."[60] By its use of "the philosophical doctrine of the mutual exchange of elements," the Sage's account of the miraculous crossing of the Red Sea offered a special appeal to cultured hellenistic readers.[61]

His use of philosophical speculation to interpret the popular biblical narratives of the Exodus parallels efforts by Alexandrian commentators on Homer to make his poems acceptable to the contemporary scientific mind. The tract of Philodemus On Inference gives an indication of the heated debate between Stoics and Epicureans over valid methods of argumentation. Under the influence of the Neo-Pythagorean revival, philosophy was more strongly oriented toward religious questions, and scientific data was being applied to speculation on the origin and destiny of man.[62] In his methodology the Sage mirrors

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[60]Pliny, NH 20.1, "ignes aquis restringuentibus." These two elements appear both in Wis 16.17-23 and 19.18-20.

[61]J. A. F. Gregg, The Wisdom of Solomon, 182; see also pp. 158, 187. J. Reider suggests that Wis alludes to stories about the foliage found at the bottom of the Red Sea, The Book of Wisdom, 218. His reference should read Pliny, NH 13, ch. 50, 139.

[62]See F. Cumont, op. cit., 20-23.

the spirit animating pagan religious writers of the time.

b) Another preoccupation of Hellenism is evident in the long description of the paralyzing effects of darkness upon sinners (17.2-21). In reality, this is a psychological description of fear developed with such lyric beauty that W. Headlam included it in his anthology of Greek poetry. As noted in Chapter I, P. Joüon found this treatment of fear unlike any other passage in the Bible.[63] C. Spicq compares it to the descriptions of tortures in the style of the "genre pathetique," found already in classical Greek writers but especially popular among the Alexandrians.[64] The style of this description departs from the characteristic feature of Hebrew poetry, for it is almost completely devoid of parallelism. In addition, the author employs in these 55 stichs 35 words not found in any book of the LXX. Yet the florid style must not be allowed to obscure the fact that the entire description is carefully constructed to radiate around the definition of fear, which is

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[63]See above, p. 49.

[64]C. Spicq, L'Epître aux Hebreux, 1. 77. Note that the "genre pathetique" is not a literary genre in the strict sense, but rather an artistic technique used in many genres, and popular with hellenistic historians. See F. M. Abel, Les Livres des Maccabées (Paris: Gabalda, 1949) xxxvi-xxxviii.

"nothing but treachery of the reasoning faculty's resources" (17.12). This definition is both preceded and followed by 27 stichs.

What influenced this psychological presentation? E. Osty, who called attention to "the Greek spirit" of the description, stated that the Sage was inspired by the numerous "descents into Hades" of Greek literature,[65] but he failed to cite any references. His suggestion is valid but must be qualified. Wis 17 imitates the literary form that these descents took in the late hellenistic period. The genre itself is as old as the Odyssey. Orpheus and Pythagoras were credited with having made one of these mysterious journeys. It was in connection with their treatment of the legend that Orphic and Pythagorean writers began to speculate on the nature of Hades. They conceived a division into two parts, the Elysian fields in which the good enjoyed their rewards, and Tartarus for the punishment of the wicked.

In hellenistic times the treatment of these descents became the vehicle for the speculation of moralists and jurists, who were developing new theories about criminal punishment to

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[65] E. Osty, La Livre de la Sagesse, 101.

conform to advances in psychology. The new theories were applied even to the eschatological punishments of those condemned in Hades, and the crude examples of the early myths were reinterpreted as signifying the psychological torture that vice produces upon an evil personality. For example, the Danaïdes trying to fill their leaky vessels were interpreted as symbols of the frustrations experienced by men who give themselves over to a life of pleasure seeking.[66] In the spirit of the times, as F. Cumont has explained, the "cosmic" ἀνάγκη "necessity" of the earlier descriptions became transformed into "psychic" necessity in the later ones.[67] Except for fragments, none of the original Greek "descents" of the hellenistic period have survived, but their nature is known from later Greek examples and from Latin adaptations, such as the sixth

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[66]Franz Cumont treats this literary form in "The Sufferings of Hell," After Life in Roman Paganism, 171-184, and also in "Lucrèce et le symbolisme Pythagoricien des enfers," Revue de Philologie n.s.44 (1920) 229-240. See also T. Francis Glasson, Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology (London: S.P.C.K., 1961) 8-11, 36.

[67]F. Cumont, After Life in Roman Paganism, 183. The term "necessity," common in pagan Greek writing, appears in the classical sense in Wis 17.17; 19.4. On the contrary, in the parts of the Bible translated from Hebrew, the word ἀνάγκη always means difficulty or anguish.

book of the Aeneid.[68] One of their characteristics was their graphic description of the terror that paralyzed the guilty. This is precisely the way in which the author of Wis enlarged upon the biblical account of the darkness that paralyzed the wicked Egyptians.

The long, psychological description of fear in Wis 17, then, shows hellenistic influence upon the manner in which the Sage chose to present his historical material. He does not follow the popular moralizing of the Palestinian midrash but employs the highly developed rhetorical and scholastic techniques of the sophisticated pagan culture of Alexandria. He places Greek rationalism at the service of eschatology, as both G. Kuhn and J. Fichtner have demonstrated.[69] In so doing the Sage mobilized the material of Jewish tradition into a new lesson, namely, that God was preparing his chosen people so that they could give the "incorruptible light of the law" to mankind (18.4).

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[68]F. Cumont, Lux Perpetua (Paris, 1949) 64, with additional literature on pp. 395-396. Fragments of a descent by the fourth century B.C. historian Dicaearchus are found in Müller, FGH 2. 225-268, nos. 7-73.

[69]G. Kuhn, "Beiträge zur Erklärung des Buches der Weisheit," ZNW 28 (1929) 334-341; J. Fichtner, Weisheit Salomos, 67.

The conclusion of this investigation of the historical part of the Book of Wisdom (11.1-14 + 16.1--19.22) is that it belongs to the "smaller literary genre" of syncrisis, a hellenistic form. And the influence of Hellenism is evident in the preoccupations that run through the comparisons, namely, the psychological interest found in the descents into hell, speculation based on theories of cosmic harmony, and techniques of the "genre pathetique." The author is stimulated by the contemporary scientific spirit. Because he does not use the same methods in other parts of Wis, it is necessary to investigate further before drawing conclusions concerning the book as a whole.

B. The Book of Wisdom Proper (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21)

As regards its content, commentators universally recognize the influence of hellenistic learning upon the section of Wis referred to as the "book of Wisdom proper." Specific sources have been treated in the first two chapters of this study. But did the Sage also organize his reflections on divine Wisdom according to a literary genre that belonged to Hellenism rather than compose in a biblical form? Many commentators simply do not deal with this question. Two inadequate approaches must

be avoided. First, it is not sufficient to compare the Sage's description of divine Wisdom either with the exaltation of Solomon's wisdom in the Hebrew Bible,[70] or with the Wisdom hymns found in the canonical books of the Old Testament.[71] By limiting his study to a comparison with biblical wisdom literature, a commentator will be inclined to see the "book of Wisdom proper" (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21) as a more or less hellenized version of the praises of personified Wisdom. This is not the place to study the origin of the biblical description of Wisdom, but simply to point out that such a comparison does not solve the problem of the literary genre of the part of Wis under discussion.

The second inadequate approach is that of some ardent Hellenists, who have tried to prove that all the biblical praises of Wisdom depend upon Egyptian Isis literature.[72] However, discoveries in the Near East have proved that the figure

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[70]See E. Maly, The Book of Wisdom, 9.

[71]See such passages as Bar 3.9--4.4, Jb 28, Prv 8.1-36, Sir 1.1-18; 24.1-27, and the studies of B. Botte, "La Sagesse dans les Livres sapientiaux," RScPhTh 19 (1930) 83-94; R. E. Murphy, Introduction to the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament (Collegeville, 1965), 44-51.

[72]W. L. Knox, "The Divine Wisdom," JTS 38 (1937) 230-237.

of the goddess Wisdom was prominent in both Assyrian and Canaanite literature. Hence, the biblical Wisdom is no "faded Isis."[73] The praises of Wisdom found in Jewish literature belong to a Semitic genre and cannot be classed as hellenistic aretalogies. The Sage, then, had literary forms from both the biblical and pagan traditions for a treatment of divine Wisdom. He was free to choose either the Semitic Wisdom hymn or not. And if he chose a hellenistic genre, he did not necessarily have to pick the aretalogy. Other genres were available to a trained Jewish writer of the first century B.C. living in Egypt, the traditional melting pot of religious experience.[74]

All factors dealing with both content and presentation must be considered in determining the literary genre of a piece. Certain features are indecisive in themselves because they are found in both pagan and biblical literature and in more than one literary form. For example, pseudonymity is found in the Book of Deuteronomy, in Egyptian wisdom literature,

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[73]W. F. Albright, "The Goddess of Life and Wisdom," American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures 36 (1919-20) 258-294, quoting Reitzenstein, on p. 287. See H. Jaeger, "The Patristic Conception of Wisdom in the Light of Biblical and Rabbinical Research," Studia Patristica 4 (TU 79) 90-106.

[74]See the treatment in Harold I. Bell, Cults and Creeds in Graeco-roman Egypt (Liverpool, 1953).

and in the cultic literature of Hellenism.[75] Hence, to reach a decision on this section of Wis, we shall review briefly those elements in its content that cast light on the genre, and then examine its form of presentation.

1. Content of the Book of Wisdom Proper (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21)

The investigation of the various fields of influence upon Wis has revealed the following points as bearing upon the question of literary genre of this section:

a) The acquaintance of the Sage with encyclopedic hellenistic learning is especially evident in the spheres of activity for which he praises Wisdom. She bestows upon the upright that entire range of scientific knowledge esteemed by cultured men of the Greek-speaking world during the first century B.C., but not associated with the biblical portrait of Wisdom, which was increasingly identified with the Mosaic Law and with the fear of the Lord, an expression never found in Wis.[76]

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[75]See J. A. Sint, Pseudonymität in Altertum (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1960); also J. Carmignac, Les Textes de Qumran (Paris, 1961, 1963) 2. 212-213.

[76]See Bar 4.1; Jb 28.28; Sir 24.22. The hellenistic features of Wis are stressed in A. Causse, "L'humanisme juif et le conflit du judaïsme et de l'hellénisme," Mélanges Franz Cumont (Bruxelles, 1936) 2. 525-537. More caution is expressed by A. Di Lella, "Conservative and Progressive Theology: Sirach and Wisdom," CBQ 28 (1966) 139-154, on pp. 146-149.

b) As illustrated in the last chapter, the titles and qualities of divine Wisdom throughout this "book of Wisdom proper" correspond closely to those associated with Isis. Every cultured reader of the period would recognize that the Sage was taking all the cultural gains assigned to Isis by the pagans and assigning them to the God of creation, who alone confers Wisdom upon upright men. In a sense he had the support of their own philology, because the name Isis was being interpreted by the religious writers of Hellenism as meaning "to know,"[77] and on that basis she was invoked as patroness of wisdom.

c) The moral and intellectual qualities held up for esteem in this part of the book belong to the virtues praised in hellenistic philosophical manuals, especially the tracts on kingship. In this respect the Sage marks a departure from the moral appeals of the Old Testament, which exhort just men to fear the Lord, to walk in his commands, to delight in his law, and to place their confidence only in the Lord. In addition, as E. Osty notes, his assumption of the status of a model prince in this part of the book "fits in quite well with one of the

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[77]See F. Focke, Entstehung, 101-109, on the basis of the explanation of the name Isis by Plutarch.

marks of the hellenistic period, rich in tracts on royal power."[78] In adopting terms from contemporary ethical vocabulary the Sage acts as a "progressive" religious thinker, who widens the vistas of his people. As A. Jaubert happily expresses it, "The Book of Wisdom was opening up paths to the concept of a people united by the interior bonds of Wisdom."[79]

d) From a negative point of view, the content of the "book of Wisdom proper" is noteworthy for its omission of purely Jewish ideas, except for allusions to the temple (9.7-8), the mysterious sanctuary that enthralled pagan imaginations.[80]

These points of contact between the subjects dealt with in the "book of Wisdom proper" and Hellenism contribute to solving the problem of its literary genre. The fact that the author manifests a wide variety of interests--philosophical, religious, ethical, and scientific--evokes the attempt to explain his purpose in incorporating such disparate material into a single literary composition. Specifically, what literary form guides his presentation of divine wisdom in her relationship with God and with the wise man?

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[78]E. Osty, op. cit., 14.

[79]A. Jaubert, La Notion d"alliance dans le Judaïsme aux abords de l'ère chrétienne (Paris, 1963) 450.

[80]Hermann Bückers, Die Unsterblichkeitslehre des Weisheitsbuches (Münster in W., 1938) 179-180.

2. Form of Presentation of the Book of Wisdom Proper (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21)

The first noteworthy feature of this part of the book is that the personification of divine Wisdom dominates, but does not exhaust the presentation. The Sage joins to his praises of Wisdom both an ardent prayer for her and a series of "autobiographical" details about his birth, his divine mission as king, and his quest for Wisdom. This procedure introduces elements found neither in the biblical Wisdom hymns nor in the hellenistic Isis aretalogies. The addition of this new material indicates that the Sage does not want to present the "book of Wisdom proper" either as a cultic hymn or as a pure religious lyric. Only in the artistic effusion of Chapter 10, which traces the saving interventions of divine Wisdom on behalf of the heroes of sacred history, does the Sage follow the style characteristic of the aretalogy. Of this lyric W. L. Knox wrote that it is "practically an aretalogy of Wisdom as Savior of Israel in history."[81] But the genre of Chapter 10 cannot be treated in isolation. In itself it could also be compared to a παράδειγμα "proof from example" found in the eleventh chapter of Heb.[82]

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[81]Wilfred L. Knox, Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity (London, 1944) 38.

[82]C. Spicq, L'Epître aux Hébreux (Paris, 1952-53; 2 vol.) 1. 19-20, 76-85, gives examples of this genre and bibliography, but does not mention Wis.

This too is a subordinate genre like syncrisis; it was employed in Cynico-Stoic diatribes and other rhetorical and moral compositions of an apologetic and hortatory nature common among hellenistic authors. Such a piece was often composed independently as a scholastic exercise.[83] However, its integration into a larger picture of divine Wisdom in this part of the book calls attention to the fact that the task of determining literary genre is linked to a correct analysis of a composition. E. Gärtner's analysis of the logical development of Wis 6.22-10.21 has demonstrated that the author conceived of this part as a unit.[84] Hence, all the smaller units must be considered in giving the designation of the genre of the "book of Wisdom as a whole."

What was the Sage trying to achieve? In his study of the book's purpose, T. Finan explains that he provides a speculative basis for religious reflection. In an age filled with scientific investigation and deep religious feeling, he was anxious to preserve the "unity of the sacred and the profane"

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[83]See P. W. Skehan, "The Text and Structure of the Book of Wisdom," Traditio 3 (1945) 1-12, on p. 2.

[84]Eugen Gärtner, Komposition und Wortwahl des Buches der Weisheit (Berlin, 1920) 22-28. His analysis is presented above in Chapter II, pp. 97-98.

in the sense of being equally subject to the Creator. The Sage saw creation as a work not only of God's omnipotence but also of his wisdom, and he wanted to vindicate the divine supremacy not by the"allegorism" or the "pseudohistoricism" of the time but through an "implicit theory of speculative monism." In other words, he offers a comprehensive "value system" that embraces both the secular and the profane and shows that ultimately "Wisdom is the source of all knowledge, profane as well as sacred."[85]

The Sage was looking for a form of expression that would allow him to apply learned reflections based on his revealed faith to the religious and social situation in which cultured Egyptian Jews found themselves. His insights did not come as a pure "revelation," a literary genre found in Hermetic literature and which W. L. Knox applied to Wis 8--9.[86] Nor does the mention of prophets in Wis 7.27 prove any influence of mystery cults on his presentation of this part, as F. Focke asserts.[87]

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[85]Thomas Finan, "Hellenistic Humanism in the Book of Wisdom," ITQ 27 (1960) 30-48; quotations from p. 46.

[86]W. L. Knox, op. cit., 85. Examples of this genre of "revelation" are frequently later than Wis.

[87]F. Focke, Entstehung, 105. C. L. W. Grimm, Das Buch der Weisheit, 164-165, gives references to prophets in Hellenism.

The concept of prophet was common in Hellenism as a whole and not confined to esoteric groups.

This religious "speculative monism" explains the attention given in the "book of Wisdom proper" to the person of the king. It prompted the Sage to unite the achievements of scientific ethics with the popular religious aspirations found in the cult of Isis into an elaborate treatment of the just king's search for the one God under the guidance of saving Wisdom. By attributing many of the perfections and activities of Isis to the biblical figure of personified Wisdom, the Sage universalized the image of the God of revelation and presented him as the unique efficacious source of all power and wisdom in the universe and as the arbiter of history and final goal of man's destiny. "In a single concept of universally active Wisdom, at once transcendent in its nature and immanent in its effects, the author of Wisdom has found a principle which . . . guarantees the unity of truth. . . ." and produces a truly harmonious universe.[88]

This part of the book, therefore, has been conceived by

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[88]T. Finan, art. cit., 47. He sees Wis as predecessor of Justin and Clement of Alexandria. In fact, the latter cites Wis several times.

the author as a constructive synthesis to present the role of God's Wisdom in the cosmos rather than as an exhortation or a polemic, although these latter intentions permeate the book as a whole. Thus, in assigning attributes ascribed by pagans to Isis to Wisdom, he implies that the cult of Isis has been surpassed without explicitly mentioning her name. And in assuming the figure of Solomon, the type of the wise man in biblical tradition, he implies that the models of human wisdom are no longer Greek sages, such as Orpheus.[89] Finally, in collecting all natural philosophy, which was the "natural crown of education" for the Greek, under the aegis of divine Wisdom, he offered his readers an alternative to the rationalism that ruled Hellenism, including its philosophical religion.[90]

In his "book of Wisdom proper" he does not mention any opponents or enter into direct arguments with Greek thinkers. Rather, he chooses to draw freely from both biblical and pagan sources to elaborate religious, moral, and scientific expressions of wisdom into a synthesis. By these reflections he

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[89]See C. L. W. Grimm, op. cit., 32. The same type of blending of philosophical reasoning with beliefs of popular religion was characteristic of Stoicism, which was a religion as well as a philosophy. See James Rendel Harris, "Stoic Origins of the Prologue of St. John's Gospel," BJRL 6 (1921-22) 439-451.

[90]See A. D. Nock, Conversion (Oxford, 1933) 177. The author's religious polemic becomes explicit in the third part of his book, which is treated below.

voices his unbounded faith in the God of creation and revelation as Lord of all wisdom. Such a creative synthesis is found in no earlier biblical writer. None of them attempts to give a scientific view of nature and its principles and potentialities.[91] Hence, we must look of the influence of Greek literary forms because "To the degree . . . that the precise traditions followed by a work can be ascertained, its classification is sure" and it can be placed in its proper place in a literary tradition.[92]

Because the Sage was striving to produce a constructive synthesis in the "book of Wisdom proper" (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21), it belongs to the area of "problem" literature, not in the narrow biblical sense of a work that questions traditional values, but in the tradition of Greek philosophical speculation. His aim is not to challenge the data of the Bible but rather to penetrate its lesson and adapt it for a new generation. He finds an appropriate genre in hellenistic scholastic tradition, namely, the ἀπορία "problem." This literary form developed out of attempts of philosophers such as Aristotle

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[91]See Richard G. Moulton, The Literary Study of the Bible (N.Y., 1899) 343.

[92]Addison G. Wright, "The Literary Genre Midrash," CBQ 28 (1966) 111.

to answer questions of logic or moral conduct. It was a form of writing popular in the scholastic world during the first century B.C., precisely because its "religious dogmatism" was favorable to this form of investigation. Scholarly discussion of historical and religious problems was part of the educational program prevailing in Alexandria. The course notes or "introductions" of teachers included material of this nature, and it became part of the "spiritual koine" of Hellenism.[93]

The mentality of "problem" literature pervades this part of Wis, beginning with the two indirect questions that appear near its start, "what Wisdom is and how it came about" (6.22). They set the didactic and yet practical tone that is maintained throughout by such techniques as paradoxes, expressions of ignorance and astonishment, and further questions, all of which stimulate reader interest.[94] The use of the sorites on

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[93]See the treatment of this subject by A. J. Festugière, La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste 2. 368-369; 414-415. The use of this literary form would have been appreciated by cultured readers because, as he states, boys of all ranks were being educated in the liberal arts in Alexandria during the first century B.C.; on p. 529. See also Paul Friedländer, Plato (N.Y.: Pantheon, 1964) 2. 49, 281-283.

[94]See Wis 7.12, 15; 8.6, 21; 9.6, 13, 15, 17, and the events treated in Chapter 10.

practical wisdom (6.17-20) as an appendix to Part I as a means of linking the first two parts of the book raises the problem of what wisdom is: a practical virtue acquired by vigorous personal effort, or a transcendent divine gift? Above all, the lengthy allusion to the famous choice of Heracles at the crossroads (8.2-18) uses a commonplace pagan theme to focus attention upon the fundamental moral decision facing each person.[95] At the time when Wis was written, this choice was being interpreted allegorically as referring to the two paths open to the soul after death.[96] That interpretation could be significant for the introduction of the conception of "immortality" into Wis 8. 13, 17.

It must be admitted that a similar probing attitude underlies the entire Book of Wisdom: the effort to explain man's eternal destiny, the investigation of the workings of divine providence, the explanation of the nature of miracles and of

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[95]See Paul Heinisch, Die griechische Philosophie im Buche der Weisheit (Münster, 1908) 35. The story appears as early as Xenophon, Mem. 2.1.22. Since it was a commonplace in hellenistic literature, it is impossible to prove direct borrowing from Xenophon. See the treatment in Chapter II, p. 86.

[96]Franz Cumont, After Life in Roman Paganism, 150-153. He shows the great influence that the choice had in the Greek-speaking world, especially in Pythagorean writings. It was used not only in literature but also in art. He cites a tomb from Lydia where the two figures are Virtue and Profligacy.

the dependence of creatures upon laws of nature as well as upon the almighty power of God.[97] Yet, only in the "book of Wisdom proper" (6.12-16 + 6.21--10.21) does the Sage actually employ the specific smaller genre of "problem." Underlying all the topics treated by him is the great question of the relationship of Judaism to the prevailing theosophy of Hellenism. Pagan religious thinkers were trying to define the role that man was to play in the universe. The author of Wis was searching to understand what role the chosen people were to play in this new world, and how the personal Creator of men was going to make the "incorruptible light of the Law" guide mankind (18.4). Thus, his own preoccupations reflect a response to the practical religious tone of philosophy at that time.[98] But it was beyond his scope to elaborate a full-scale philosophy of religious faith. He remains on the practical religious level even in dealing with the "problem" of divine Wisdom.

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[97]George Ziener, "Die Verwendung der Schrift im Buche der Weisheit, TTZ 66 (1957) 138-152, treats some of the problems dealt with in Wis.

[98]See H. A. Wolfson, Philo (Harvard U. Press, 1948) 1.284-289, and A. Beckaert, "L'evolution de l'intellectualisme grec," REByz 19 (1961) 44-62, on pp. 52-53.

C. The Book of Eschatology (1.1--6.11 + 6.17-20)

The designation given to the opening chapters of the Book of Wisdom by W. Weber and adopted by several commentators seems to imply that this part of the work belongs to the literary genre of eschatology. In fact, this is the way that J. Fichtner classifies it.[99] But serious objections exist against this designation. Undoubtedly the Sage is interested in personal eschatology. He affirms that a man's true destiny surpasses his earthly existence and consists in eternal happiness "in the hand of God" (3.1; see 5.15). In this teaching he is much clearer than any part of the Hebrew Bible, without, however, adopting the Platonic theory of the natural immortality of the soul to explain the meaning of man. A man cannot make his own blessedness but receives it as the result of a direct divine intervention of the personal Creator (5.16-23). But this teaching on man's destiny to eternal happiness and the short apocalyptic description of God's triumph are not sufficient to classify these probing chapters as an eschatology.

The entire development of this section must be considered, and the following paradoxical features taken into account before

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[99]J. Fichtner, Weisheit Salomon, 67; F. Focke remarks on the apocalyptic coloring of Wis in Entstehung, 16.

trying to place this "book of eschatology" into its appropriate literary genre within the Book of Wisdom as a whole.

1) The Sage is interested not only in the eternal destiny of the just man but also in the eschatological divine sonship of the entire race of just men. He is also concerned with the general relationship of God toward men in general and the special role of God as father of the just. This latter relationship was a preoccupation of late Jewish literature.[100] But he was not content simply to construct an "eschatological building," as a writer of an eschatology would have done.[101] Rather, he offers a series of examples illustrating a universalizing and spiritualizing of the covenant promises. By presenting the rewards without the addition of any ritual demands, he lays the groundwork for an appeal to all men of good will to draw near to God (6.19). The Sage shows more interest in illustrating and justifying his eschatological beliefs than in describing the beatitude of the just in eschatological terms.

2) In style, because of its sustained parallelism and gnomic phrasing, the "book of eschatology" is reminiscent of

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[100]See Annie Jaubert, La notion d'Alliance dans le Judaïsme aux abords de l'ère chrétienne, 351-353. For the chosen people as children of God see Wis 11.10; 12.18-22; 14.3; 18.4.

[101]A. Jaubert, ibid., 369-371.

Hebrew wisdom literature. In content, however, the Sage departs from the "conservative" theology of earlier wisdom writers.[102] His picture of God avoids distinctive nationalistic traits, and he freely incorporates the vocabulary of hellenistic writers.[103]

3) Although he strongly affirms eternal happiness as the real goal of human existence, the Sage fails to elaborate certain features that would be expected in a true eschatology, such as, the time when this happiness begins, whether it involves bodily resurrection, what punishment is in store for the wicked.[104] Although he agrees in particular points with various Jewish apocrypha, his eschatological teaching does not agree completely with any of them. In speaking of immortality he employs technical vocabulary from Greek philosophers as something understood by his readers.[105]

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[102]See A. Di Lella, "Conservative and Progressive Theology: Sirach and Wisdom," CBQ 28 (1966) 151.

[103]M. J. Lagrange, in reviewing the study of F. Focke, RB 28 (1919) 267-272. This part of Wis contains 68 words not found in the canonical books of the Old Testament.

[104]This vagueness is noted by commentators; see P. Grelot, "La révélation du bonheur dans l'Ancien Testament," LumVi no. 52; 10 (1961) 5-35, on p. 32; A. Di Lella, art. cit., 151-154; P. Beauchamp, "Le salut corporel des justes et la conclusion du livre de la Sagesse," Bib 45 (1964) 491-496, 512-520.

[105]Hermann Bückers, Die Unsterblickheitslehre des Weisheitsbuches 50-51, 101, 128. See T. F. Glasson, Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology (London, 1961) 28, 40.

Upon closer inspection, then, the "book of eschatology" (1.1--6.11 + 6.17-20) appears as a more speculative type of writing than an eschatology. Its literary procedures conform to those of the hellenistic diatribe, a genre that evolved fully in the third century B.C.[106] It is an informal, flexible ethical exposition in lively and colorful language to defend a position and to win others to it. The following reasons indicate that the smaller genre of this part of Wis is a diatribe:

1) The device of addressing rulers (1.1; 6.1, 21). The moral philosophers of Hellenism were seeking to improve the lives of civil leaders as the many tracts on kingship indicates.[107] In addressing his developments concerning eternal blessedness to rulers both at the beginning and at the end, the Sage adopts a hellenistic literary convention in preference to the Semitic style of speaking to a "son." Recognition of this feature helps in delimiting the "book of eschatology."[108]

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[106]Theodore C. Burgess, "Epideictic Literature," Studies in Classical Philology 3 (1902) 89-261; he states that the diatribe is found first in Antisthenes, p. 225.

[107]Henry G. Meecham, The Oldest Version of the Bible (London, 1932) 303. See above in Chapter II for a detailed study of the influence of kingship literature on Wis.

[108]The "therefore" (6.1) indicates a conclusion, not a beginning. The CCD edition is correct here against many editors. For a fuller treatment of structure see J. M. Reese, "Plan and Structure in the Book of Wisdom," CBQ 27 (1965) 391-399.

2) The sustained logical appeal for moral uprightness. Hebrew wisdom writers often grouped individual sayings around a common theme. The Book of Job deals with the problem of retribution, but "the development of thought within the debate does not follow logical rules."[109] Unlike Job, the Sage carefully constructs motives for the practice of virtue and the shunning of vice, and gradually works up to his climax that "uprightness is immortal" (1.15). He offers examples to convince men of good will that their Creator is offering them true freedom and unending royal dignity. His sustained logic reaches a climax in his justification of God's rights over men by offering original insights into the divine origin of authority; it is a divine gift to be used according to his just laws (6.3-10).[110] A hellenistic polemical spirit is evident in his succinct remarks on the concept of authority, for these imply a transcendent, personal God who can effect his will through human agents. The Greek concept of human liberty demanded a superior moral character as a necessary condition for anyone to exercise authority. Without going into a complete theory

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[109]R. E. Murphy, Introduction to the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament, 51.

[110]See Ch. Larcher, "L'origine divine du pouvoir d'après le Livre de la Sagesse," LumVi no. 49; 9 (1960) 84-98.

of authority, the Sage offers an alternative to the view of complete moral autonomy.[111] This type of writing is beyond the scope of an eschatology.

3) The use of an imaginary opponent in Chapter II. It is significant that the Sage, who uses so many allusions to earlier writings of the Old Testament in picturing the attack upon the upright man,[112] avoids the genre of rîb and prefers to let the unjust aggressors speak for themselves in the manner of the hellenistic diatribe. Their motives are drawn not only from Jewish sources,[113] but use Egyptian,[114] and Epicurean as well.[115]

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[111] Ibid., 98, discussing Wis 6.3-4. Compare the use of logical reasoning against natural religion in Wis 13.1-9.

[112] For a study of these dependencies see P. W. Skehan, The Literary Relationship between the Book of Wisdom and the Protocanonical Books of the Old Testament (Washington, 1938). Note that Wis 2.12 is a direct quote from Is 3.10 according to the LXX rendering, which differs from the Hebrew.

[113] F. Focke, Entstehung, 78, sees the opponents of Chapter 2 as Sadducees. In his review of Focke's book, M. J. Legrange also favors a Palestinian origin for Wis.

[114] See J. K. Zenner, "Der erste Theil des Buches der Weisheit," ZKT 22 (1898) 417-431, on p. 430, and A. Barucq, Le Livre des Proverbs (Paris, 1964) 129.

[115] F. R. Tennant, "The Teaching of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom on the Introduction of Sin and Death," JTS 2 (1901) 207-223, on p. 215 sees Chapter 2 as an attack on Epicureanism. See I. Heinemann, "Die griechische Quelle der 'Weisheit Salomos'," Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars Fraenckelscher Stiftung (Breslau, 1921) 136-153, and Epicurus, Fg. 337.

4) The influence of the Cynico-Stoic witness theme. In the religiously oriented ideal of hellenistic philosophy, the philosopher was not only a seeker after wisdom but also its disciple, pledged to proclaim the truth of his convictions by a higher form of moral life than other men. He was a man with a mission, raised up to be a moral witness to mankind; his noble conduct revealed that God had chosen him as messenger of truth to men.[116]

A similar spirit is evident in the "book of eschatology" (1.1--6.11 + 6.17-20), especially in the opening appeal to uprightness. God demands perfect integrity because he is "witness" of man's inmost thoughts and desires (1.6). This theme makes clear what is meant by the "conviction" of the "holy spirit" by sin (1.5), a phrase which E. Gärtner considered as an interpolation because he found it incompatible with the author's conception of God's omnipotence.[117] But the Sage is not saying that sin has power over God; he is speaking of the moral barrier it creates to the witness that God's children are called to give to the world of his saving power. Although it fills the

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[116]A. Delatte, "Le sage-témoin dans la philosophie stoïco-cynique," Bulletin de la classe des Lettres, Academie royale de Belgique 39 (1953) 166-186.

[117]E. Gärtner, Komposition und Wortwahl des Buches der Weisheit, 4.

whole universe, God's spirit holds no communion with evil. In the moral sense, then, is sin victorious over God in that it is contrary to his saving plan. It continues the work of the devil, whose envy robbed mankind of God's gift of "incorruption" (2.23-24).

Insofar as the Sage sees personal moral responsibility as a response to the love of an all-just, ever-present personal God, he continues biblical tradition. But he bases his appeal not on the traditional motives of covenant theology or the ancient promises, but upon the universal, objective, unchanging reality that "justice is immortal" (1.15). This appeal would attract the Stoics, who proclaimed a universal moral order. At the same time, the Sage reminds them that this order is under the personal direction of a God who demands an accounting of men's actions. In his scrutiny "children of lawless sleep" are "witnesses" against the wickedness of their parents (4.6). At judgment will come the sinner's own recognition that he has refused to walk the "road of truth" (5.6) and at death has "no sign of virtue" to show for his life (5.13).

5) The theme of the unjust treatment accorded to the wise man (2.6-20). This theme was found in Greek literature even before Plato, who used it effectively in the famous description

in the second book of the Republic (361b—362a). It was applied to the fate of Socrates and Diogenes, and was a favorite with the Epicureans, although they were often pictured as the persecutor by hostile writers.[118] The immediate source of the Sage's description remains disputed by commentators. At one extreme, Stella Lange holds for direct Platonic influence.[119] She does not back up her argument with convincing literary evidence, however, and proves no more than that he employed a commonplace theme to picture in a vivid way the fate of all faithful Jews persecuted for their beliefs.[120] And the fact that he quotes from the LXX translation of Is 3.10 (Wis 2.2) indicates that he borrowed from Jewish adaptations of the theme.[121]

The other extreme is to see this as the beginning of a homily upon the fourth Servant Song, as M. J. Suggs suggested.[122]

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[118]See A. Delatte, art. cit., 176.

[119]Stella Lange, "The Wisdom of Solomon and Plato," JBL 55 (1936) 293-302.

[120]Marco Adinolfi, "Il messianismo di Sap. 2.12-20," Il messianismo (Brescia: Paideia, 1966) 205-217; he admits some Platonic influence, such as Geor 482d on Wis 2.11.

[121]A. Descamps, "Justice et justification," DBS 4.1417-1510, column 1442. J. P. Weisengoff sees the persecutors as apostate Jews, "The Impious of Wisdom 2," CBQ 11 (1949) 40-65.

[122]M. J. Suggs, "Wisdom of Solomon 2.10--5: A Homily on the Fourth Servant Song," JBL 76 (1957) 26-33.

It is true that material from the book of Isaiah serves as the basis for much of the author's speculation in Wis 3--5, but he does not limit his comments to the fate of the Servant, and his theology goes beyond that of the prophet. If his intention were to write a homily on Isaiah, his work would belong to the genre of midrash; but he is not attempting to comment on Is.[123] He uses examples found in Is, including the Servant perhaps, as a help in generalizing about the fate of Jews, but he inserts these into a Greek literary form.[124] His ultimate purpose in the use of this theme is didactic, namely, to prove that physical death cannot prevent a just man from achieving the true purpose of his existence. This usage corresponds to the practice of the diatribe, where this theme was prevalent.

The conclusion to this investigation into the "book of eschatology" (1.1--6.11 + 6.17-20) is that its aim is primarily apologetic in the sense that it seeks to offer an insight into man's true destiny; it is an appeal to him to strive for it

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[123]This is the conclusion of Addison G. Wright, expressed in a private letter of May 23, 1966; see also his comments in The Literary Genre Midrash, 126-127.

[124]See M. Adinolfi, art. cit., 205-206. M. Delcor extends the figure to just men in general, "L'immortalité de l'âme dans le Livre de la Sagesse et dans les documents de Qumrân," NRT 77 (1955) 619.

in spite of difficulties and opposing theories of life. Fundamentally, its approach is speculative,[125] not in the style of a professional philosopher but as the work of a teacher using rhetorical techniques to influence his pupils. Hence, the ordinary title of "book of eschatology" does not correspond to the real literary genre. Rather than call for a new universe, as late Jewish apocalyptic eschatologies do, the Sage praises the wisdom and beauty of the existing creation and includes reflections on the origin of the authority of its rulers. God maintains the harmonious order of the universe even in his miraculous interventions. By appealing to the principle that God uses nature to fight for the just (5.20), he actually offers an alternative to the excesses of contemporary Jewish apocalyptic by a theory of "exemplary symbolism," which he employs later in the series of comparisons that close his work.[126] For these reasons the designation of diatribe seems most correct as the smaller literary genre of these opening chapters.

But whom does the Sage wish to convince? This problem, which complements that of genre, will be treated in the follow-

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[125]See R. Cornely, Commentarium in Librum Sapientiae, 9, and R. Pautrel, "Jugement," DBS 4. 1342-1343.

[126]P. Grelot, Sens chrétien de l'Ancien Testament, 368. J. Geyer contrasts the Sage's restraint in comparison with apocalyptic writing, The Wisdom of Solomon (London, 1963) 73.

ing chapter. For the present, the remaining part of the book will be considered for its literary form.

D. The Book of Divine Justice and Human Folly (11.15--15.19)

Only when this section is isolated as a separate and unified composition, is it possible to decide upon its structure and literary character. The matter treated shows a wide range of interest, but the entire development is unmistakably apologetic. Its careful planning, leading up to a conclusion reveals rhetorical training and literary skill in its author.[127] Most commentators treat these chapters as two separate digressions (11.15--12.27 and 13.1--15.19). However, that does not answer the question of their genre.

1) E. Gärtner speaks of 13.1--15.19 as a "clear and lucid tract" against idol worship.[128] A polemic tone pervades the considerations that the Sage directs against the various religious errors of his day. Hence, in addition to the disastrous effects of idol worship (13.10--14.2; 14.27-29), which

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[127]See the analysis in J. M. Reese, "Plan and Structure of the Book of Wisdom," CBQ 27 (1965) 393-394.

[128]E. Gärtner, Komposition, 53. See Giorgio R. Castellino, "Il paganesimo di Romani 1, Sapienza 13-14 et la storia della religioni," Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus 2.254-263; note that he sees links between Chapters 12 and 15.

receives the most severe criticism, he directs his attacks against:

natural philosophical religion (13.1-9);[129]

abuses in mystery cults, which were in vogue in vogue in Alexandria during hellenistic times (14.22-26);[130]

the cult of rulers (14.19-21). He relies upon the theory of the school of Euhemerus on the origin of the gods.[131]

Throughout these chapters the Sage stresses that the chosen people form the preoccupation of God's special care (15.1-6) and that this role imposes a unique responsibility upon them. They must offer mankind a living proof of true wisdom as a condemnation of the moral aberrations of the pagans (14.22).[132] In opposition to current earthbound religious speculation and practice, the Sage proclaims that religious wisdom rests upon the true understanding of God's personal nature

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[129]See above, pp. 114-138, and R. Reitzenstein, Poimandres (Leipzig, 1904) 73.

[130]Lucien Cerfaux, "Influence des mystères sur le Judaïsme alexandrin avant Philon," Le Muséon 37 (1924) 29-88, on pp. 30, 60; see I. Heinemann, art. cit., 150. Compare 14.22c and Ps-Heraclitus, Letter 7: evil makes the city a desert.

[131]See Truesdell S. Brown, "Euhemerus and the Historians," HTR 39 (1946) 259-274.

[132]See L. Cerfaux, "Gnose préchrétienne et biblique," DBS 3. 659-701, column 689.

and loving providence.[133] A. J. Festugière suggests that this type of attack upon paganism has become formalized in hellenistic Jewish apologetics, because the same order of presentation occurs in a polemic of Philo.[134]

The long and elaborate description of the spread of idolatry (14.10--15.6) centers its attention upon the moral evils brought about the cult of idols and the accompanying orgies. This approach is more in keeping with condemnations of idolatry in pagan philosophical writings than with the Old Testament attacks upon the religious infidelity of the chosen people, their ingratitude toward the Lord in seeking strange gods, and the punishment he inflicts upon such conduct.[135] Specifically, then, into what form should these chapters be placed? It is not enough to call them a digression, as R. G. Moulton does, because that

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[133]G. Turbessi, "Quaerere Deum. Il Tema della 'Ricerca di Dio' nell'ambiente ellenistico e guidaico, contemporaneo al N.T.," Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus 2. 383-398, on p. 392.

[134]A. J. Festugière, RHT 2. 569, citing Philo, Decal. 52-80, attacking worship of elements, statues of men, animals.

[135]G. Ziener notes this in Die theologische Begriffssprache im Buche der Weisheit, 34; he cites Heraclitus. Similar attacks are also found in Horace.

is not a true literary classification.[136] The considerations just presented show that the logical choice is that of E. Beaucamp for Chapters 13-14, namely, a diatribe.[137]

2) Wis 11.15--12.27. Perhaps the most serious difficulty in dealing with this "book of divine justice and human folly" is to show that these verses should be linked to Chapters 13-15 to make up a diatribe rather than joined to the comparisons that form the "book of history" (11.1-14 + 16.1--19.22). The difficulty is resolved by considering both style and the theological principle illustrated in these verses on God's dealing with sinners.

As to style, Wis 11.15--12.27 is not written in the form of comparisons like the fourth part of Wis. The passage on the ancient Canaanites is simply an example, not a part of a comparison, and the language used in it reveals a borrowing from Greek tragedy.[138] In his comments on Wis 12.5, C. Grimm

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[136]Richard G. Moulton, The Literary Study of the Bible, 525, followed by A. G. Wright, "The Structure of Wisdom 11-19," CBQ 27 (1965) 28-34, on p. 31, but analyzing differently.

[137]Evode Beaucamp, Sous la main de Dieu II: La Sagesse et le destin des élus (Paris: Fleurus, 1957) 259. F. Focke calls Wis 14.22-31 a diatribe, Entstehung, 103-104.

[138]D. Gill, "The Greek Sources of Wisdom 12.3-7," VT 15 (1965) 383-386, provides examples.

explains that the Sage attributes the practice of these cults to the ancient Canaanites in order to show his contempt for such practices.[139]

As to theology, Wis 11.15--12.27 does not illustrate the truth that forms the basis of the historical comparisons, namely, that God uses the same material element to reward his people and punish his enemies. On the contrary, the Sage is attacking the incompleteness of hellenistic wisdom. A. Jaubert sees his insistence upon God's mercy and universal loving-kindness as an attempt to counteract the "hellenistic or Stoic sense of man." God does not direct his covenant attributes only to a limited race but to all men, in order to make all men just and imitators of his own philanthropia (12.19), a quality highly prized by the Stoics.[140] The Sage is reflecting upon the tension between God's saving will toward all and the existence of sin in the world. He shows that sin is entirely the result of man's malice and that God cannot be held responsible for it.[141]

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[139]C. L. W. Grimm, Das Buch der Weisheit, 222.

[140]A. Jaubert shows that the Sage's humanistic presentation does not lead him to soften the divine "jealousy" in respect to all idolatry, La Notion d'Alliance dans le Judaïsme aux abords de l'ère chrétienne, 364-365.

[141]Wis 12.12; compare 13.9; 14.12, 30; 15.11.

Under the influence of divine mercy, just men grow in philanthropia, and sinners are drawn to repentance (12.19). Only if the latter refuse are they punished for their evil lives (12.27).

The entire third part of the book (11.15--15.19), therefore, provides a speculative complement to the working of divine Wisdom treated in the "book of Wisdom proper" in that it portrays God's lovingkindness toward all mankind.[142] Men bring evil upon themselves by refusing to accept the gifts that the God of revelation offers abundantly. Hence, the "book of divine justice and human folly" is an example of the diatribe used as a smaller literary genre. It is executed in the free and vivid style of the hellenistic diatribe with its wide range of literary figures, such as plays on words, irony, litotes, and climax.[143] Allusions to the hated Egyptian practice of animal worship, a theme occuring also in pagan diatribes, ties the entire treatment together into a literary unity.[144] By inserting this lively

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[142]See Wis 11.23, 26; 12.8, 18; 14.3; 15.1.

[143]The literary features are studied in R. Bultmann, Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die Kynisch-stoische Diatribe (Göttingen, 1910) 10-64.

[144]See the links between Wis 11.15; 12.24-27, and 15. 18-19. For references to attacks upon animal worship in pagan authors, see R. H. Pfeiffer, History of New Testament Times, 349.

polemic, which draws heavily upon hellinistic sources,[145] the Sage inserts the entire history of mankind into the saving plan of the God of revelation.

2) The Genre of the Book of Wisdom as a Whole

After the analysis of the various parts of Wis, the study of its literary genre must synthesize the results by showing that the author conceived of these individual developments as parts of one larger literary form. If the book is not a unity, then it is impossible to place it into a single genre. Many commentators have argued against its unity,[146] yet such a denial hardly does justice to the outlook common to the entire work and to the many links between its parts. Diversity of sources drawn upon to meet a complex situation is sufficient to account for the great variety found in Wis.[147] Fuller justification of the position that the book is a unified composition

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[145]See I. Heinemann, "Die griechische Quell der 'Weisheit Salomos'," Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars Fraenckelscher Stiftung (Breslau, 1921) 145-151.

[146]For a list of commentators for and against unity see Marco, Treves, "Il libro della Sapienza," ParPass no. 84; 17 (1962) 192-201, on p. 199. After questioning the unity (private letter of June 13, 1966), A. G. Wright now accepts it on the basis of further analysis and the golden mean ratio, "Numerical Patterns in the Book of Wisdom," CBQ 29 (1967) 524-528.

[147]See Johannes Fichtner, "Die Stellung der Sapientia Salomonis in der Literatur-und Geistesgeschichte ihrer Zeit," ZNW 36 (1937) 113-132, especially pp. 116-119. Combination of sources was common in late Hellenism, an eclectic period.

will be given in the next chapter.

The point at issue here is whether there was in use in the hellenistic world of the first century B.C. a literary genre that comprised the smaller literary forms discovered to be present in Wis. And the answer is that such a form not only did exist but was in common use, namely, the protreptic or logos protrepticos, a didactic exhortation. This species of philosophical rhetoric demands all the qualities evident in the Book of Wisdom: a positive and even apologetic attitude about the control of the universe, a firm position against opposing philosophies of life, and the deliberate display of a wide range of knowledge.[148] This designation has already been applied to the first five chapters by F. Focke, who saw them as a dependent upon an earlier "anti-aristocratic polemic."[149] A. Dupont-Sommer designated the first nine chapters as a protreptic.[150] In reality, the entire book belongs to this genre.

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[148]For a treatment of this genre in Greek literature, see Theodore C. Burgess, "Epideictic Literature," Studies in Classical Philology 3 (1902) 89-261; he gives a list of authors who wrote a protreptic on p. 234. For the themes common to it see A. J. Festugière, La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste, 2.522-528, with examples from Philo.

[149]F. Focke, Entstehung, 85.

[150]A. Dupont-Sommer, "De l'immortalité astrale dans la 'Sagesse de Salomon' (3.7)," REG 62 (1949) 80-87, on p. 80.

R. T. Siebeneck described it as a "rhetorical exhortation," which is another way of calling it a protreptic, but he did not elaborate.[151]

The roots of the protreptic genre go back to exhortations found as early as Hesiod and Theognis, although the genre did not emerge until the classical period.[152] It was employed by the sophists as a vehicle for attracting students to the pursuit of oratory and politics. Recently A. H. Chroust has proposed a reconstruction of Aristotle's Protrepticus, a work that is paraphrased in dialogue form by Cicero's Hortensius. Chroust concluded that the Protrepticus of Aristotle was a hortatory composition offering "a sustained and apparently systematic argument in favor of a life devoted to philosophy," considered as the means of preparing for a vision of truth in the Iles of the Blessed.[153] It treated the theology of

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[151]R. T. Siebeneck, "The Midrash of Wisdom 10-19," CBQ 22 (1960) 176-182, on p. 176.

[152]For the history of the form see Karl Oscar Brink, "Protrepticus," Oxford Classical Dictionary; Paul Friedländer, ΥΠΟΘΗΚΑΙ Hermes 48 (1913) 558-616, and Rudolf Hirzel, Der Dialog (Leipzig, 1895) 2 vols.

[153]Anton H. Chroust, Aristotle: Protrepticus. A Reconstruction (Notre Dame Press, 1964) xi-xvii; quote on p. ix.

nature, man's goal in life, law and authority, the cardinal virtues, and the union of man's body and soul--topics also touched upon in Wis.

This genre remained popular during the hellenistic and imperial periods in both Greek and Latin literatures; men who composed tracts on kingship often penned a protreptic also. It was a flexible form that could assume an importance in a cultured society. Worthy of note is the Protrepticus of the dynamic Stoic philosopher Posidonius, a student of history and a man of encyclopedic knowledge. As far as can be determined, this lost work consisted in an explanation of his ideal of philosophy as a life lived according to the virtues, followed by warnings to prepare those seeking wisdom to face opposition. Posidonius tells his readers not to be disturbed or discouraged by conflicting opinions of philosophers in their pursuit of wisdom, and he emphasizes the need of an upright life to achieve their goal in life.[154]

The protreptic, then, is not a formal treatise on the abstract aspects of philosophy, but an appeal to follow a

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[154]Marie Laffranque, Poseidonios d'Apamée (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964) 466.

meaningful philosophy as a way of life. It is directed especially toward students and reminds them of the impact that learning should have upon moral growth. In fact, H. I. Marrou described it as "an inaugural lecture that tried to gain converts and attract young people to the philosophic life."[155] The investigation of the various parts of Wis showed that all of them are calculated to influence its readers to devote themselves to the goal of eternal life with the Lord (5.15) by bringing the light of his law to mankind (18.4). The four parts of Wis, which in turn offer an artistic description of the blessings of faith in the living God, the gifts of divine Wisdom, the harmful effects of idolatry, and the saving power of God, all arouse loyalty to the one Creator and Ruler of the universe. The Sage's skill in using hellenistic rhetorical devices to develop his exhortations and to link his individual developments have been recognized by critics.

For a more detailed confirmation of the conclusion that Wis is a protreptic, the following features of this genre as found in the four parts of the book will now be rapidly summarized. In the exhortation that opens his work, instead of

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[155]H. I. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity, 206-207. Philosophers usually dressed in a distinctive way.

abstract theorizing, the Sage presents his insights in the form of a diatribe, a genre used by Hellenists to defend the divine order.[156] While explaining the divine plan for the salvation of men, he is at the same time exhorting his readers to fulfill God's will be contrasting the eternal happiness of the upright with the frustration and despair of sinners.

Having thus urged his readers to seek justice, the Sage moves into a new area, the "book of Wisdom proper," in which he identifies the just man as one wedded to divine Wisdom. She is described by 21 qualities, similar to the 26 attributes of God in the fragment of Cleanthes preserved by Clement of Alexandria in his Protreptic.[157] As the mood of the book changes, so does the smaller genre. To capture the mysterious nature of union with God through Wisdom, the Sage employs the genre of "problem." What difficulties does the just man meet in his efforts to win immortality? This style hints at the tensions existing between man's search for God and God's way

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[156] R. Bultmann, Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe, 56-57.

[157] Clement of Alexandria, Protreptic, Chapter 6 (PG 8.177), as noted by Thomas Finan, "Hellenistic Humanism in the Book of Wisdom," ITQ 27 (1960) 30-48, on p. 39. Finan holds that Wis is dependent here upon Stoic writings, although direct dependence upon Cleanthes cannot be proved.

of giving his friendship to men (7.27). Drawing upon the vocabulary of the Isis cult literature, the author enumerates the manifold benefits bestowed by God upon his worshipers by the mysterious presence of Wisdom. As he approaches the end of this section, he orients his reflections toward sacred history, which he pictures as the repeated intervention of divine, salvific Wisdom.

His omission of the proper names of Israel's heroes in Chapter 10 is in keeping with the style of the protreptic, which deals with persons as types. The use of character types was a favorite practice in Greek writing, as evidenced in the Characters of Theophrastus and the figures of new comedy.[158] The heroes of sacred history are types of the saved. Just before portraying Wisdom's intervention on their behalf in Chapter 10, which closes the "book of Wisdom proper," the Sage stated the principle that he illustrates in the long historical section of his work, namely, that men are "saved by Wisdom" (9.18). He spells out this truth in the last two sections of his work, which are skillfully interwoven. For, after giving the first

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[158] F. Focke, Entstehung, 108.

of seven comparisons that illustrate God's saving providence, he uses the technique of digression popular in Greek historians[159] to insert a diatribe on divine wisdom and human folly (11.15--15.19). This carefully composed development incorporates a defense of God's justice and the warnings that are characteristic of the protreptic genre. The Sage decries the folly of idolatry and the false standard of conduct that it has brought into the world. He shows that he is acquainted with the so-called Euhemeric theories on the origin of idol worship. In two ways this diatribe adds depth to the book: first, by serving as a counterpart to the praise of divine Wisdom, for it shows what happens to men who abandon God; and second, as a backdrop against which his comparisons dealing with God's saving providence stand out in bold relief.

Coming as the climax to the work's long and varied methods of exhortation, the extended syncrisis or artistically composed comparisons can be appreciated for their full theological import (11.1-14 + 16.1--19.22). The Sage subordinates all human history to a saving divine plan that embraces not only the

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[159]See Arthur Darby Nock, "Posidonius," JRS 49 (1959) 1-16, on p. 5. He cites Polybius 38.6.1 in defense of the authenticity of these digressions as an integral part of a unified work.

formation of the chosen people but also the extension of that plan to all mankind as destined to enjoy the "incorruptible light of the Law" (18.4).[160] For, as creator of all physical beings, God controls their destiny and directs them to the salvation of his friends (19.18-22). Thus, in a positive way the Sage conducts a running polemic against pagan philosophy's identification of the divine with the universe.[161] And he goes still further, for by incorporating theories of Greek natural philosophy into his description of the miracles of the Exodus, he offers a scientifically acceptable alternative to the closed pagan theories that could not account for miracles. As G. Ziener has stated it, the Sage shows that "the Creator is not bound up by an inflexible natural order."[162] By his insights into a theology of history that embraces all creation, from mankind to physical laws, he surpasses the aim and method of midrash, for he is not writing a literature about a literature

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[160]See G. Ziener, "Die Verwendung der Schrift im Buche der Weisheit," Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift 66 (1957) 146.

[161]See M. Laffranque, op. cit., 439.

[162]G. Ziener, art. cit., 148.

but is proposing a new theological synthesis.[163]

In conclusion then, his method of teaching follows the didactic method of the protreptic genre. He develops his religious appeals and moral warnings according to the techniques employed by hellenistic rhetoricians, who taught that exhortations must appeal not only to the intellect but to the other human faculties as well. In all parts of his book, with artistic skill, oratorical beauty, and a wealth of literary allusions, the Sage wished to accomplish the purpose of protreptic literature, that is, "to arouse an attitude that is essentially active."[164] The speculative character of the Sage's interests reveal "the university circles in Alexandria where the book was written,"[165] but it is more than simply a logical didactic exposition or "declamation."[166] Its integral unity

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[163]See S. Stein, "The Influence of Symposia Literature on the Literary Form of the Pesah Haggadah," JSS 8 (1957) 13-44. He contrasts Wis 18.15 with the haggadic theology.

[164]M. Laffranque, op. cit., 493.

[165]Thomas Finan, art. cit., 41.

[166]B. F. Westcott, "Wisdom of Solomon," in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible (Cambridge, 1872) 4.3545-3551, uses this designation on p. 3547.

within diversity demands that it should not simply be designated as a "monologue" plus a diatribe against idolatry.[167] Its autobiographical references and description of the author's search for divine Wisdom make it more personal than the "open letter" genre of tracts on religious themes, such as Ps-Aristotle, De mundo.[168] On the other hand, the Sage's speculation on such topics as man's final destiny, the origin and spread of idolatry, the source of authority, the relation between God's justice and mercy, remove this book from the category of "propaganda literature" composed by hellenized Jews,[169] and from the "guide" literature for religious persons of esoteric tendencies preserved in the hermetic Corpus.[170] And there is no need to invent a new designation and call this work "an apocalyptified Wisdom book," as J. Fichtner does,[171]

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[167]This is the opinion of M. Treves, art. cit., 192.

[168]D. J. Furley, editor of Ps-Aristotle, On the Cosmos in the Loeb Classical Library, treats this genre on p. 334.

[169]F. Focke, Entstehung, 101.

[170]See A. Festugière, RHT 4. 62, for a treatment of this form of literature.

[171]Johannes Fichtner, "Die Stellung der Sapientia Salomonis in der Literatur-und Geistesgeschichte ihrer Zeit," ZAW 36 (1937) 124; he then sees all philosophical elements as mere "rhetorical decoration." The same objection applies to the term "syncristic midrash" of A. G. Wright, The Literary Genre Midrash, 109.

because the protreptic genre as it existed in late Hellenism provides a satisfactory explanation for the Sage's method of composition. He combined his thorough knowledge of Jewish tradition with a broad formation in Greek literature in order to put together this exhortation to true wisdom in the artificial rhetoric that appealed to his cultured contemporary Hellenists.

As to the specific audience addressed, this question will be treated in the next chapter along with detailed considerations on the book's unity. Only then can the significance of hellenistic influence be evaluated.

CHAPTER IV

UNITY AND ADDRESSES OF THE BOOK OF WISDOM

A literary author addresses himself to men willing and able to follow his arguments and the manner in which they are presented. Efforts, then, to determine the nature and degree of hellenistic influence on the Book of Wisdom must deal with evidence for its unity and indicate the particular reading public to whom the Sage directs his message. If the conclusion reached in the previous chapter is valid, that the book belongs to the genre of protreptic literature, then the various parts of the book should reflect a certain unity of approach despite the great variety of topics discussed. At the same time, this approach will offer the basis for forming a judgment about whom the author was trying to influence. This chapter, therefore, consists of two main parts, treating these two topics closely related to the literary genre of the book, namely, unity and addressees.

I. Unity of the Book

The plan and structure of Wis provide solid bases for

viewing the work as the unified production of a single author.[1] Yet many commentators have denied unity of authorship. Apparently the first to do so was the French Oratorian priest Charles F. Houbigant in 1753. He considered Solomon himself to be the author of the first nine chapters, which were translated into Greek by the author of the remainder of the book.[2] Since that time the unity has been questioned by Eichhorn and Bertholdt, Bretschneider, Nachtigal, W. Weber, and K. Lincke, before its defense by F. Feldmann in 1909.[3] To the list of those opposing unity must be added S. Holmes, E. Gärtner, F. Focke, Peters, A. Speiser, and C. Purinton.[4] Those who deny unity of authorship frequently approach the position of Houbigant in holding that the author of the later part also translated the first part and

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[1]See James M. Reese, "Plan and Structure in the Book of Wisdom," CBQ 27 (1965) 391-399.

[2]According to R. Cornely, Commentarius in Librum Sapientiae (Paris, 1910) 12.

[3]Franz Feldmann, "Zur Einheit des Buches der Weisheit," Biblische Zeitschrift 7 (1909) 140-150.

[4]See Paul Beauchamp, "Le salut corporel des justes et la conclusion du livre de la Sagesse," Bib 45 (1964) 491-526, on p. 500 for a list of opinions. Another list appears in Marco Treves, "Il libro della Sapienza," ParPass 17 (1962) 192-201, on p. 199. Both of these authors accept the unity.

combined them into the present work, because the literary characteristics of the entire book are relatively stable.[5]

A more careful and detailed study of phraseology and recurring ideas is called for in order to establish that the same author is responsible for all parts of the book. In addition, significant themes permeate the entire work and tie it together. This chapter attempts to offer conclusive indications that the same writer is responsible for the entire book.[6] Two forms of arguments will be presented for its unity: (A) the frequent repetition of significant ideas in similar phrasing; for convenience these are called "flashbacks." The term "flashback" simply implies an interaction between the two passages. Whether the Sage was anticipating the later development or simply recalling a previous passage does not affect the argument that this phenomenon is a sign of unity. In reality, the book probably grew over an extended period of time during which

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[5]See C. C. Torrey, Apocryphal Literature (New Haven, 1945) 98-103. Although he considers the first part a translation, he states, "The diction of the same learned Greek scholar, moreover, is unmistakably present in every part," p. 100.

[6]No doubt the sources used by the Sage account in large measure for much of the variety in style and vocabulary, as P. Beauchamp noted. "We are quite willing to admit that the diversity of models inspiring the author's learning is reflected here and there, especially in the midst of the third part," art. cit., 500.

the Sage added to and modified his work.[7] (B) themes sustained throughout the book.

A. Flashbacks. The Sage is at his best in composing a short development, the classical Greek period, which he ordinarily rounds off with an inclusion.[8] However, when he comes to combining these units, he shows a lack of discipline. He is prone to become tangled up in the details of a comparison, or to build up a description out of proper proportion, or to insert an extraneous development.[9] His tendency is to concentrate upon one detail or aspect of a concept at a time and then to complete the concept by an allusion later in a different context. This stylistic tendency has produced the "flashbacks." They are no accident, for this is a device of "deliberate literary (as distinguished from oral) character," and it was one of the

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[7]See P. W. Skehan, "The Text and Structure of the Book of Wisdom," Traditio 3 (1945) 1-12, who gives indications that the work was composed over an extended period on pp. 4-5.

[8]See J. M. Reese, art. cit., and Addison G. Wright, "The Structure of the Book of Wisdom," Bib 48 (1967) 165-184.

[9]See the digression of 4.10-14b, on Enoch; 8.9b-16a, elaborating the feelings of "King Solomon"; 19.6-9, on the Passover liturgy. The extended psychological elaboration of 17.2-21 on fear, although of great lyric beauty, still disturbs the balance of the comparison.

techniques used in hellenistic historiography for unifying a work.[10] As used in the following pages, "flashback" will mean a short repetition of a significant word or group of words or distinctive idea in two different parts of Wis. In general, they serve to make the specific examples from sacred history that appear in the last part of the book types of man's final destiny. By this device the Sage exhorted his readers to learn from God's saving interventions the real meaning of their existence.

F. Feldmann used this feature in arguing for the unity of the book, but pointed out only a few examples. His failure to take full advantage of this procedure of style made it possible for E. Gärtner to assert that his argument was inconclusive, and that a redactor could have inserted such reminiscences.[11] In an attempt to prove the apocalyptic character of the entire book, J. Fichtner listed examples of flashbacks having apocalyp-

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[10]Charles H. Lohr, "Oral Techniques in the Gospel of Matthew," CBQ 23 (1961) 403-435, on p. 404. Lohr lists "flashback technique" as one form of "retrospection," on p. 414.

[11]E. Gärtner, Komposition und Wortwahl des Buches der Weisheit (Berlin, 1912) 104-105.

tic features.[12] G. Ziener did the same for those verses that point to the covenant with the just man.[13] At times this feature has been used implicitly to explain the meaning of difficult passages from the book.[14]

In this chapter flashbacks will be treated as a literary feature to give the book unity, to maintain a consistent approach in dealing with diverse material. The Sage kept building up his thesis that the ordered universe in general and man in particular are under the control of the all-powerful Creator and Savior, who guides man to unending friendship with himself.[15] His proof demanded the application of God's providence in sacred history to this care for just men. The flashbacks reminded his readers that the past wonders of God's providence are an assurance that future rewards are awaiting the just. Forty-five

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[12]Johannes Fichtner, "Die Stellung der Sapientia Salomonis in der Literatur-und Geistesgeschichte ihrer Zeit," ZNW 36 (1937) 113-132. He sees the apocalyptic themes as pointing to a single author writing in Greek; see pp. 115-116, 120.

[13]George Ziener, Die theologische Begriffssprache im Buche der Weisheit (Bonn, 1956) 94-97. Cited as Begriffssprache.

[14]See, for example, P. Beauchamp, art. cit., and R. E. Murphy, "To Know Your Might Is the Root of Immortality," CBQ 25 (1963) 88-93.

[15]See J. P. M. Sweet, "The Theory of Miracles in the Wisdom of Solomon," Miracles, ed. by C. F. D. Moule, pp. 115-126.

examples of this method are presented here.[16] All these flashbacks do not have the same probative force for accepting a single author, but the frequent usage has cumulative force. The large number of vocabulary repetitions and the use of identical phrases and examples to describe disparate situations cannot be considered either the work of chance or the result of imitation. They reveal a consistent scholarly effort to construct an elaborate exhortation calculated to appeal to the audience envisioned by the Sage. For the sake of clarity, the passages under discussion will be given in a literal English translation.[17]

1) (10.6-7)

She rescued an upright man from ungodly men perishing....
a testimony of whose baseness still
finds itself a smoldering wasteland,
and producing bushes of never ripening fruit....

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[16]This chapter will not treat other arguments from vocabulary that could be used as proof of unity of authorship, especially the fact that certain unusual words are repeated in different parts of the book. Of the 335 words in Wis never found in other books of the canonical OT, 38 are repeated, and of these 12 appear in widely separated passages. This persistence of characteristic vocabulary is an indication that the same man wrote the entire book.

[17]I owe this suggestion to the Rev. Joseph Zalotay. In cases where the passages are too long, only the significant parts of the flashback will be given.

(4.4-6) Should they blossom forth....

they will be shaken by the wind

and uprooted by the violence of the winds.

Unproductive twigs, they will be broken off

and their fruit useless...

For children born of lawless sleep

are witness of baseness against parents in their scrutiny.

Evil men are described in similar figures. The resemblance is more striking in Greek because both epithets, "never ripening" and "unproductive" are alpha-privitives adjectives from the same root, and never appear in any other canonical book. In both cases the evil leaves behind a witness of its "baseness."

2) (10.10)

She showed him the majesty of God

and gave him knowledge of holy ones....

(5.5) How was he enrolled among God's sons

and how is his share among holy ones?

The just man is associated with the "holy ones," that is, with the angels. Here the flashback clarifies the sense of 10.10, and shows that the substantive "holy" is to be translated by the masculine rather than the neuter, in contrast to the same

phrase in Prv 30.3. For the Sage, eternal life is not a thing but an association with the heavenly court, and he uses the vision of Jacob as a type of it (Gen 28.13).[18]

3) (10.13)

She did not abandon an upright man sold into slavery
but rescued him from sinfulness.

(2.18) If the upright man is God's son, he will assist him
and rescue him from the hands of opponents.

Not without irony, the protection afforded to the apparently hopeless "upright man" is described in the same way; he is "rescued" from sin by God or by divine Wisdom.

4) (10.17)

She paid pious men recompense for their toils.

(2.22) Nor did they hope for piety's recompense.

The "recompense" is linked in both cases to "piety." The reward given to the chosen people at the Exodus serves as a type of the eternal reward of the just.

5) (11.3)

They withstood foes and retaliated against enemies.

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[18]See the comments of P. W. Skehan in his review of E. Osty's French translation of Wis in CBQ 21 (1959) 525-527. A. Jaubert, La notion d'Alliance dans le Judaïsme aux abords de l'ère chrétienne, 196, also accepts the masculine and compares the text to 1QS 4.22.

(5.17) He will fashion creation as his weapon for retaliation against enemies.

The retaliation of the chosen people provides assurance of God's eschatological "retaliation," a word that occurs nowhere else in the Bible.

6) (11.5 + 8-10)

Whereby their enemies were chastised,
therby they enjoyed benefits when in need....
showing by the thirst of that time
how you chastised their adversaries.
For, when put to the test, although corrected in mercy,
they knew how the ungodly were tormented....

(3.4-6 + 9) Though chastised according to men views....
for the little discipline they will enjoy great benefits
because God put them to the test....
Like gold in a smelting-furnace he tested them...:
The loyal ones will administer to him with love
because kindness and mercy are with his devoted ones.

Both clusters describe in similar vocabulary the workings of divine "mercy." God chastises, tests, and corrects, but only to save and reward the just. Present difficulties can be eval-

uated correctly only in terms of God's fatherly care.[19]

7) (11.4)

They marveled at the outcome of his departure.

(2.17) Let's put to the test what happens at his departure.

Sinners see two "departures," that of the just man from life and that of the chosen people from Egypt. In both cases, this "departure," a term that occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament, becomes the manifestation of God's saving power.

8) (11.15)

In exchange for the wickedness of their foolish plans....
you dispatched upon them a pack of irrational animals
in retaliation.

(1.5) A holy spirit will flee deceitful education
and will stand aloof from foolish plans
and will be refuted once wickedness gains entrance.

In both cases "foolish plans" are associated with "wickedness," and these are the only two times that these expressions appear in Wis. God's reaction also appears in both texts.

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[19]On similarities between these two passages, see the commentaries of Feldmann, pp. 8-9, and Grimm, p. 87.

9) (11.20)

They could have fallen by a single breath

pursued by Vengeance....

(1.8) No one uttering wicked things will escape notice

nor will Vengeance pass through without condemning him.

Not only is divine Vengeance personified, but it is pictured as effective. The tendency to personify qualities of God is a feature of style that appears throughout the book.[20]

10) (11.17-20)

For your all-powerful hand was not at a loss

--having created the world out of shapeless matter--

to send upon them....

newly created incomprehensible monsters....

even their sight could have utterly terrified and destroyed.

....they could have fallen....

dispersed by the breath of your Power;

but you regulate everything in measure, number and weight,

(5.16-23) For this reason they take a decorous crown

and beauty's diadem from the hand of the Lord

because his right hand will shelter them....

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[20]See Wis 1.3, 8; 5.23; 14.2; 18.5-6 and next flashback.

He will fashion creation as his weapon for retaliation....
and the world will join with him in the battle upon the senseless....
The breath of Power will withstand them
and like a gale scatter them abroad.

The "breath" of God's "Power," which is personified in both texts, creates and controls all. Just as God restrained his all-powerful "hand" from creating new monsters in the Exodus, so too he will use existing creatures against his eschatological enemies. They too will be punished, and his friends will have security.

11) (11.26--12.1)

You spare all because they are yours, Master, lover of life,
for your incorruptible Spirit is in all things.

(1.7, 13-14) The Lord's Spirit has filled the world....
He does not delight over the ruin of the living
for he created all things to endure....

All things are good because God's "Spirit" is in all. But God is more than Creator; he loves creatures, keeps them in existence. Both passages offer encouragement.

12) (12.10)

By passing sentence little by little you gave a chance

for repentance,

well aware that their origin was base
and their evil inborn
and that their reasoning faculty would never be altered.

(4.11) He was snatched away lest evil alter his understanding
or deceit seduce his soul.

The change from evil to good or from good to evil involves the "altering" of man's reason. In no other biblical passage is the moral option described in this manner. Conscious of the forces of evil that attract just men and hinder sinners from conversion, the Sage reminds his readers of the precarious condition in which men live.

13) (12.15)

Being just, you conduct everything justly
considering it foreign to your power
to condemn one who ought not to be chastised.

(9.3) (to God: you created man)

to conduct the world in piety and justice
and to execute judgment in honesty of soul.

God's manner of "conducting" the world is the model for man. The author uses the technical term from hellenistic philosophy,

"conduct," and never found in biblical Greek, to teach that man must imitate the "just" God by ruling this world with "justice."

14) (12.16-18)

For your strength is the source of your justice
and your mastery over all things makes you spare all.
For you display strength when the perfection of your
power is not believed
and you reprove the rashness of those who know;
but, Master of all, you judge with clemency
and with great indulgence manage us....

(6.6-8) For the least in rank are deserving of mercy
but powerful men will be subjected powerfully
for the Master of all does not shrink back....
and he provides for all in like manner.
but an exacting examen stands in wait for the mighty.

The omnipotent providence of God, who is "Master of all," shows concern for all by exercising justice and sparing the weak. The linking of God's power and mercy appears again in 15.1-3.[21]

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[21]See J. Fichtner, Weisheit Salomos, 47. The linking of power and mercy appears in the tracts on kingship. Contrast the arrogance of sinners in the use of power in Wis 2.11.

15) (13.4)

If they were awed by their power and activity,
let them conclude from them how much more powerful is he
who fashioned them.

(7.17) For he gave me reliable knowledge of what exists
to know the constitution of the world and activity of
planets.

The marvelous "activity" of the universe is linked to God, its cause. In these texts foolish men are contrasted to the wise man who has received a true understanding through God's gift.

16) (13.5-6)

For from the greatness and beauty of creatures
by analogy their original Maker is contemplated.
Nevertheless, however, in their case the blame is slight--
and in fact, no doubt they go astray
in seeking God and wanting to find him--

(6.12) Resplendent and unfading is Wisdom
and she is easily contemplated by those who love her
and found by those who seek her....

The "seeking" and "finding" of God and his Wisdom begins by contemplating them. Both of these passages link the Greek approach

to God through contemplation and the biblical image of seeking the Lord. The flashback is more striking because, as G. Ziener has noted, these are the only two instances where the Sage uses the verb θεωρέω in the philosophical sense of mental vision.[22]

17) (13.7)

For in being occupied with his works, they scrutinize
and are persuaded by the sight...

(6.3) (to kings: God) will scrutinize your works and examine your wishes.

The author makes an interesting contrast between the feeble efforts of philosophers to "scrutinize" the "works" of God and the powerful scrutiny of men's hearts by God. The verb used in both passages for "scrutinize" never appears again in the Bible.

18) (13.10)

Ruined, and in dead things their hopes,
are those who gave the name gods to works of human hands:
gold and silver, a craftsman's raw materials....

(3.10-11) For just as they schemed the ungodly pay the penalty,
those who ignored what is upright and spurned the Lord--
for he who despises wisdom and education is ruined--
and their hope vain, and their pains senseless

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[22]G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 23. In all the verb "contemplate" appears six times in Wis.

and their works useless.

Both texts describe the empty "hope" of the "ruined," a term that appears only in these two passages in the book. And in addition, the Sage ties the two texts together by a play on words between ἀμελήσαντες "those who ignored" (3.10) and ἐμπλεκτήματα "raw materials" from which the idols that should be ignored are fashioned (13.10). This is the first extant example of the latter word.

19) (14.2)

The urge of earning a living conceived it,
and Wisdom the crafts-woman fashioned it.

(7.22) Wisdom the crafts-woman of all taught me.

In the only mention of divine Wisdom in the last nine chapters of his work, the Sage employs the unusual form "crafts-woman," which appears first in a second century B.C. inscription.[23]

20) (14.6-8)

Of old, when the arrogant giants were perishing,
the hope of the world escaping by vessel
piloted by your hand left for ages seed of his line.
For blessed the bark through which uprightness comes;
but the idol, cursed is it and he who makes it,

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[23]The inscription is cited in Liddell-Scott-Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford, 1940) 1785. Helmer Ringgren sees a possible allusion to the Stoic concept of Nature as "crafts-man," Word and Wisdom (Lund, 1947) 149.

because he produced it and it, though perishable, was
called god.

(1.13-15) God did not make death
nor does he delight over the ruin of the living
for he created all things to endure
and the lines of beings in the world are beneficial
and among them is no potion of destruction...
for uprightness is immortal.

The passage on Noah's ark, source of "uprightness" for the human "line," serves as occasion to repeat ideas from the climax of the book's introduction. The one true "God" alone keeps "lines" of beings in existence to accomplish immortal "uprightness."[24]

21) (14.12-14)
The beginning of immortality was devising idols
and their discovery corruption of life;
for they were not in the beginning and will not be forever
for by the illusion of men they entered the world
and so an abrupt end has been devised for them.

(2.23-24) God created man in a state of incorruption

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[24]Similar reflections about God's providence are found in Wis 11.24-25 and 13.3.

and made him in the image of his own eternity,

but by the slanderer's envy death entered the world,

and those who belong to his lot experience it.

In both cases the Sage deals with the problem of how the forces of evil and death "entered the world." God is not responsible for "corruption," but he will punish it.[25]

22) (14.23)

Carrying out either child-murdering rites or hidden

mysteries....

(6.22) I shall not hid her mysteries from you....

In condemning the "hidden mysteries" of the pagans that brought death to men, the author recalls that he refused to "hide" from his readers the "mysteries" of divine Wisdom that brings them to eternal life.

23) (14.24)

No longer did they keep either life or marriage pure;

either they wipe each other out by ambush or inflict

grief by adultery.

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[25]Wis does not elaborate upon the type of punishments that sinners will experience, but speaks of them in general terms; see 4.16-20; 5.14, 17-23; 12.22-27. The use of a flash-back here supports the reading of "eternity" in 2.23 and adopted in Chapter 1, p. 2.

(4.3) Though prolific, the crowd of the ungodly will be useless,
and from adulterous slips will not supply a deep root.

In both references to adultery, the opposition is not between the lack of children and godless ones, as in Sir 16.3. Rather, the Sage concentrates upon the social harm of adultery, so common in Egypt. In speaking of this evil he connects the verses by the terms νόθος and νοθεύω, never found elsewhere in the Old Testament. The former, meaning "illegitimate," was the title of a class of temple attendants in Egypt.[26]

24) (14.30)

On both counts will judgments pursue them, namely,
that they exercised concern for God maliciously by
attaching themselves to idols
and that they swore wickedly with deceit by disdaining
piety.

(1.1) Love justice, you judges of the earth,
show concern for the Lord by goodness
and seek him by sincerity of heart.

The Sage paints the effects of idolatry in terms that recall his

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[26]See L-S-J, p. 1178, and Raphael Taubenschlag, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri (N.Y., 1944) 82.

opening exhortation. Instead of "showing concern" for the Lord in simplicity of heart, idolaters "exercised concern for God maliciously." Both passages then go on to explain the result of not heeding this plea. Wisdom will refuse to enter an evil soul (1.4), and Vengeance will proceed against malicious men (14.31).

25) (15.1)

You, our God, are gracious and true
patient and managing all things with mercy.

(8.1) She stretches out to earth's ends with vigor
and manages everything graciously.

The image of God's graciousness in managing all things recalls the picture of his divine Wisdom, who "manages everything graciously" throughout the universe.

26) (15.3)

To understand you is hearty justice
and to know your might the root of immortality.

(1.15) Justice is immortal.

In the climax of his prologue the Sage links justice and immortality. The flashback supplies the middle term between them, namely, the vivifying power of the saving God.

27) (15.4-5)

The fraudulent conception of men did not lead us astray....
nor a form spattered with divers colors
whose sight excites an urge in the foolish.

(1.3-4) ...his power refutes the foolish,
because into a fradulent soul Wisdom will not enter.

The flashback, which repeats the rare homeric word "fraudulent," a term that appears in no other biblical passage, illustrates the principle laid down in the earlier passage. Thanks to divine Wisdom, the chosen people were able to resist the allurements of idolatry which seduced the "foolish."[27]

28) (15.6)
Enamored of evils and worthy of such hopes....

(8.2) I became enamored of her beauty.

The Sage deliberately contrasts those "enamored" of evil, who are doomed to hopes as dead as the idols they worship, with the wise man. "Enamored" of Wisdom, he is filled with the hope of communion with her forever.

29) (15.8)
(The maker of clay iols is described as a man)
who shortly before came into being from earth

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[27]H. Eising points out some links between the prologue and the treatment of idolatry throughout the book in "Der Weisheitslehrer und die Götterbilder," Bib 40 (1959) 393-408.

and after a little while proceeds whence he was taken
when the payment of his soul is demanded.

(1.4) Into a fradulent soul Wisdom will not enter
nor dwell in a body indebted to sinfulness.

In both cases the reflection on man's moral condition is linked to the figure of indebtedness. The Sage's preoccupation with anthropology is related to his interest in the final destiny of man's "soul."[28]

30) (15.9-10)

His concern is not that he is going to pass away
or that he has an insignificant life span.... (but)
he considers it glorious to shape counterfeits.
His heart is ashes and his body more common than dirt
and his life of less value than clay.

(2.3-4 + 16) ....his body will vanish as ashes
and his spirit scatter like thin air....
and our life will pass away like traces of cloud
and be dispersed like a mist....

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[28]Related to his interest in anthropology is the Sage's concern for the cause of death; see 1.13-15; 2.24; 14.12-14. He deals with the roles of both soul and body in human conduct in 8.19 and 9.15, which are studied in Chapter 2, pp. 181-197.

We are reckoned as a counterfeit by him.

Both passages develop similar views on death. To just men, the view that life is dissipated by death is as "counterfeit" as the idols made by the wicked.[29] Both texts are a polemic against a wrong idea of death.

31) (16.1-2)

They were chastised in a deserving way through similar ones....

In contrast to this chastisement, after your people are benefited....

(3.4-5) Though chastised according to men's views....

for the little discipline they will keep enjoying great benefits, because God....

found them deserving of himself.

The divine justice is described in identical terms. He provides that sinners are "chastised" and his children are "benefited," and does both in a "deserving" way.[30]

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[29]The term for "counterfeit" is common in pagan Greek, but occurs elsewhere in Bible only in Lev 19.19 and Dt 22.11. In both of these texts it describes a cloth woven of two different types of cloth.

[30]The terms "chastisement" and "deserving" appear in close proximity in Wis 3.4-5; 12.26-27; 16.1, 9; 19.4; and the two ideas are linked in 18.4. This is one of the flashbacks noted by G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 95, but he refers only to the repetition of the word "deserving."

32) (16.6)

As a warning they were troubled for a short time
while having a token of salvation as reminder of your
law's command.

(5.2) On seeing they will be troubled with horrifying fear
and will be amazed at the unexpected salvation.

The Sage makes the second recognition scene recall the first. Both groups are "troubled" by the divine intervention that produces "salvation" for the just. This flashback forms part of his plan to use the Exodus as a type of the final salvation of the just.

33) (16.12-14)

Your word, Lord, is healer of everything.
For you have authority over life and death
and lead down to the gates of Hades and back.
Man....does not lead back a spirit that has departed
nor release a soul that has been imprisoned.

(2.1) Short and bitter is our life
and there is no cure at man's last end
and there never was known one who releases from Hades.

The Sage uses the divine intervention in the desert to refute

the charge that no one "releases from Hades." By applying to eternal salvation the LXX imagery of recovery from sickness as going down "to the gates of Hades and back," he shows that the "Healer of everything" offers the final "cure" against death.

34) (16.29)

The hope of the ungrateful will melt like wintry rime
and flow off like useless water.

(5.14) And ungodly man's hope is like down borne by wind
and like fine rime pursued by a gale.

The repetition of the striking figure of the sinner's "hope" being compared to "rime" is noteworthy. Without this flashback, it would be tempting to emend the earlier text to picture gale chasing "foam," as some commentators do.[31]

35) (17.7)

Left behind were only unused tricks of magic craft,
surely a most insulting refutation of the bragging about
their know-how.

(8.6) If know-how is effective,

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[31]See Bernhard Risberg, "Textkritische und exegetische Anmerkungen zur Weisheit Salomos," ZAW 33 (1913) 206-221, on pp. 209-210 (see Iliad 11. 305-307), and P. W. Skehan, "The Text and Structure of the Book of Wisdom," Traditio 3 (1945) 1-12, on p. 8.

who rather than she is Crafts-woman of beings?

The ironic attack on the Egyptian magicians mocks their "craft." The Sage contrasts the failure of their "know-how" with divine Wisdom's efficiency in supplying her followers.[32]

36) (17.20-21)

The whole world was being illumined by a resplendent light

....but over these alone heavy night stretched itself,

image of the darkness about to overtake them.

(7.29-30) Compared to light she is found more resplendent,

for night overtakes it

but evil does not prevail over Wisdom.

These two comparisons of moral good and evil in terms of light and darkness contain four words in common. The darkness that engulfed the sinners during the Exodus teaches that only God's care prevents the just from being "overtaken" by the "darkness" of sin.

37) (18.1-4)

For your devoted ones there was a very great light....

a flaming column you prepared

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[32]See the comments in loco of Antoine Guillaumont, "La Sagesse," La Bible de la Pléiade (Paris, 1959) 2. 1654-1703. This flashback recalls the Sage's development on the role of divine Wisdom in human affairs.

as guide for an incomprehensible journey.
and a protecting sun for the coveted sojourn abroad
Surely, to be deprived of light and imprisoned by darkness
was deserved
by those who were guarding your sons enclosed
through whom the incorruptible light of the law was to be
given to the ages.

(5.6-7) So we did stray away from the way of truth
and the light of justice did not shine for us
and the sun did not rise for us....
we traveled through impassable deserts
and did not know the way of the Lord.

Both passages describe the divine protection for his own, using the figures of light and journeying. The Sage links the light of the Exodus with the guiding light of the Law, which is the real "light of justice" to lead all men to the Lord.[33]

38) (18.13)

Although completely disbelieving on account of sorceries,
at the destruction of their firstborn, they acknowledged

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[33]See J. Fichtner, "Die Stellung der Sapientia Salomonis in der Literatur-und Geistesgeschichte ihrer Zeit," ZNW 36 (1937) 118, and F. M. Braun, Jean le Théologien (Paris, 1964) 2. 188.

that the people was God's son.

(5.5) How was he enrolled among God's sons?

Both scenes record the reaction of God's enemies to his intervention on behalf of his worshipers. They recognize that the just are "God's son."[34] The flashback illustrates the Sage's belief that evildoers learn only through divine punishments.

39) (18.15)

Your all-powerful Word from heaven from kingly throne...

(9.10) Speed her from your holy heavens

and from your glorious throne send her.

The picture of God's personified Word coming upon the people in the desert reminds the reader that his saving Wisdom is also sent from the "throne" of God in "heaven."

40) (18.15-16)

(God's Word) relentless warrior, pounced into the middle

of the devastated earth

bearing as sharp sword your irrefutable command

and taking his stand filled everything with death;

even to heaven he reached although poised upon earth.

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[34]See G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 95. Wis 5.5 is already an ironic fulfillment of the challenge to God in 2.18. See 16.8.

(5.18-21) (God) will clothe himself with justice as coat of mail
and put on a helmet of irrefutable judgment;
he will take as shield indomitable devotion
and sharpen relentless anger into a sword....
(and lightening bolts) will pounce upon the target from
the clouds as from a full-armed bow.

The imagery of war links these two passages. The flashback describes God's word in a way that recalls the apocalyptic description of God's final judgment: "pouncing" down with "relentless" anger to bring about an "irrefutable" punishment upon those who oppose his people.

41) (18.24-25)
(of the high priest) Upon his vestment reaching his feet
was the whole world....
and your majesty upon the diadem of his head.
From these the devastator drew back; he feared them
for just the experience of your anger was enough.

(1.13-14) (God) does not delight over the ruin of the living
for he created all things to endure
and the classes of beings in the world are beneficial
and among them is no potion of destruction
nor any diadem of Hades upon earth.

Both passages show that God wards off destruction from the beings of the "world." The "diadem" of the high priest as intercessor thwarts the "diadem" of Hades. Sin brings death, but God intervenes to save those whom he created.

42) (19.3)

While still having mourning rites on their hands....
they dragged in another plan of folly.

(1.12) Stop dragging in destruction by the works of your hands.

The flashback shows a case of sinners failing to heed the warning not to "drag in" destruction by engaging in evil. The only other biblical use of this particular image is in Is 5.18, a passage in which sinners are challenging God.

43) (19.8)

Through it went as a single people those sheltered by your hand, gazing upon marvelous wonders.

(5.16) Therefore, they will receive the radiant crown
and the diadem of beauty from the hand of the Lord
because by his right hand he will shelter them.

In both cases the safe arrival is the work of God's "hand" that "sheltered" his chosen ones while punishing his enemies.

44) (19.13a-c)

Retribution came upon sinners
by the violence of thunderbolts, but not without advanced indications.
for justly did they suffer for their own baseness.

(4.10-14) Having become well pleasing to God he was loved
and was transferred while living among sinners;
he was snatched away lest evil alter his understanding....
For his soul was pleasing to the Lord;
therefore, he hastened from the midst of baseness.

The passage about how "sinners" experience the fruit of their own "baseness" is cast in a way that recalls how God protected the innocent Enoch from the danger of human weakness. These are the only two places where the common LXX word for "sinner" appears. Together they summarize the Sage's view about man's condition during this life. He insists that all men are weak and exposed to sin and ignorance.[35] As a result, sinners seldom follow the influence of God's grace. At the same time, however, God shows mercy by protecting the just man from human weakness

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[35]See also flashbacks 12, 21, and 27.

and bringing him to salvation.

45) (19.18-19)

For the elements were interchanged among themselves
--just as notes on a harp change the manner of the rhythm
which remains as long as the sound....
and sea animals passed over to land.

(7.27) Although she is one (Wisdom) can do all things
and while remaining by herself she renews everything
and by passing over into devout souls in each generation
she fashions friends of God and prophets.

The Sage's summary of the Exodus experience by describing the renovation of creatures within the framework of nature recalls the continuing activity of divine Wisdom in the world. Both Wisdom and nature "remain" and keep their identity amid change. Just as she is able to "pass over" into men and make them friends of God, so God can make creatures "pass over" into a new role for the glorification of his people (19.22).

This use of flashbacks, which is sustained throughout the entire work, offers a strong literary argument for a single author. Despite a wide range of interests, a unity of outlook and interest underlies all the sections.

B. Themes. Flashbacks are primarily literary reminiscences uniting the various parts of the Book of Wisdom. In addition, certain themes that are maintained throughout convey to its readers the author's theological positions. J. Fichtner made a list of Leitmotivwörter that reappear throughout the work.[36] In his study of the theological ideas in Wis, G. Ziener concluded that a unified approach prevailed in that the Sage "sought in Scripture answers to questions of his own time."[37] It is possible to expand this conclusion and show that the author's contemplation of God's universal saving will as manifest both in sacred and profane history evokes the theological themes that inspire his various literary developments. The following themes, woven into the disparate genres discussed in Chapter 3, point to the activity of a single author consciously working out a thesis that would appeal to an urbane group of Jews trained in hellenistic rhetoric. The assembled materials draw chiefly upon Jewish traditions, and the spirit guiding their usage keeps within the framework of Old Testament revelation, as G. Ziener

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[36]J. Fichtner, art. cit., 118-119.

[37]G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 20. Ziener stresses the continuity of Wis with the theology of the Hebrew Bible.

has proved. The nature of the themes used will point to the audience addressed, whose identity will be treated in the second part of this chapter.

1) Religious knowledge of God. The transforming religious experience enjoyed by just men is habitually presented in terms of the knowledge of God. This knowledge is saving, for it makes men children and friends of God.[38] Hence, the Sage can pass easily from his praise of the just man in the opening chapters to his glorification of divine Wisdom in the second part of his work. He equates the just man with the wise man, for no one can be just without experiencing divine Wisdom.[39] Sinners are those who refuse to "know" their Creator in a saving way and to render him religious homage (2.13; 13.1-3; 15.1-3). As a punishment they come to "know" God only as an all-powerful king who punishes their disbelief (5.7; 11.10, 13; 12.27; 16.16, 18). The Sage's little history of the growth and evil effects of idolatry (14.10--15.6) is perfectly in place as a practical

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[38]See Wis 2.16; 3.9; 5.7; 6.12, 22; 9.4, 10-14; 13.5; 14.22; 15.2-3. G. Ziener treats this theme and lists the verbs dealing with knowledge in Wis, Begriffssprache, 22-26.

[39]This experience is treated in Wis 7.27-28; 8.2-3, 13, 17; 9.6, 9, 18, and throughout Chapter 10. Compare 3.8 and 6.21; 4.16-17 and 6.9-11.

application of his theological view that man's life is an experience either of knowing or being ignorant of God. For the Sage, "Idolatry is always a moral failure, never simply a purely intellectual mistake."[40]

2) Theological use of the concept of "seeing." Related to his use of terms for knowing in a religious sense is the author's frequent employment of verbs of "seeing" in a theological sense. G. Ziener lists over 20 cases of this usage.[41] Because the very sight of a just man is a burden to sinners, they seek to test him to "see" if his teaching is true (2.13, 17). Only in their punishment will it be clear to them that they resisted the light of justice shining upon the just (5.6; see 3.9). What appeared as a punishment "in the sight of men" will be recognized as a saving wonder (3.4; see 5.2). True "seeing" comes not from the power of bodily eyes, but requires a divine revelation or intervention,[42] or at least good will on man's part to view the nature

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[40]G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 30; see Wis 14.22, 30.

[41]G. Ziener, "Weisheitsbuch und Johannesevangelium" Bib 38 (1957) 396-418; 39 (1958) 37-60, on p. 55. See also his treatment of these verbs in Begriffssprache, 132-135.

[42]See Wis 4.14, 17; 5.2; 11.13; 12.27; 13.7; 16.18; 18.1, 4, 13, 19. This divine intervention is symbolized by the light of the Law in 18.4 and by the cloud in 19.7-8.

of things correctly.[43] The effect of the absence of divine help is developed at great length in the elaborate description of the darkness engulfing sinners in 17.2-21, and is symbolized in the blindness of 19.17.

The imagery of sight plays a significant role in the Sage's teaching. God is "eternal light" (7.26), and divine Wisdom is his "radiance," shining to the very ends of the universe (7.26; 8.1). Likewise, the gifts of God become light for men. By means of this image he links the effects of the Law, "incorruptible light" for mankind (18.4), with the "light of justice" that shines eternally for God's children (5.6).[44]

3) Interaction of malice and ignorance. The Sage's understanding of knowledge as a religious experience is actually a consequence of his preoccupation with the mystery of man's sinfulness. Frequently in the course of his work he returns to the problem of evil. Why is the majority of mankind estranged from

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[43]Wis 13.1, 5. G. Ziener compares this passage to hellenistic philosophical writings, Begriffssprache, 134.

[44]The connection is noted by J. Fichtner, art. cit., 119.

the true God, who is in fact the merciful "lover of life" (11. 26)? The author paints human frailty in vivid terms and pictures men as easy targets of sin. He multiplies his exhortations to seek the divine helps necessary for avoiding the seduction of sin and the bewitching attraction of evil (see 1.1-15; 4.11-12; 6.1, 11; 8.21). He maintains a delicate balance between his faith in the triumph of the divine plan for men and an awareness of the uncertainties of the human situation. Forces both within and outside of them are continually attracting all men, even the upright, to evil. Within men are twisted or wretched or foolish "plans,"[45] bodily heaviness (9.15), ignorance of God and of his plans,[46] desire for gain or influence (14.2, 18; 15.12), illusion (14.14), grief (14.15), and human passion (14.20; 15.4). In some men evil is inborn (12.10), and the envy of the devil is at work to make all men share in his lot (2.24). Outside of man social pressures are active in the form of false philosophies of life (2.1-20), custom (14.16), commands of rulers (14.17), and the enterprise of those who make idols (14.18-20;

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[45]Wis 1,3; 9.14; 19.3; these are the only times the term logismoi, "plans," occur in Wis.

[46]Wis 2.1-5, 21-24; 9.13, 17; 12.27; 13.1-9; 14.22; 15.11; 16.16. A similar recognition of human weakness is found in the writings of Paul; see Jean Nélis, "Les Antithèses littéraires dans les épîtres de Saint Paul," NRT 70 (1948) 360-387.

(14.18-20; 15.10-12).[47] Once sin gained a foothold among men, its destructive influences spread rapidly (14.22-31).

Beginning with the initial malicious ignorance of men in turning to idolatry, sin gradually gained domination in the world with the help of the growing maliciousness that it engendered. But the Sage refuses to believe that history will end on a negative note. Sin was not man's original state, and it will not be his final ruler (1.13; 14.13-14). Through his chosen ones God will make the light of his Law enlighten all mankind (18.4; see 5.6). Then men will be able not to sin because they will know that they belong to God and enjoy the saving power of his mercy (15.1-3). The Sage ends his history of idolatry, which he places in the midst of the various forms that it took, on a note of optimism.[48]

4) Man's immortality and related themes. The Sage repeatedly presents immortality as man's true destiny. Over 20 times he

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[47]J. Coert Rylaarsdam remarks that his attention to the beauty of works of art in 14.15, 17-19 and 15.5 represents an interest not found in Hebrew writings, Revelation in Jewish Wisdom Literature (U. of Chicago, 1946) 39-40.

[48]On the careful construction of this part of Wis, see Eduardus des Places, De Libro Sapientiae (cap. 13-15) (Rome, 1965) and J. M. Reese, "Plan and Structure in the Book of Wisdom," CBQ 27 (1965) 391-399.

employs terms dealing with this topic, namely, incorruption (2.23; 6.18, 19), incorrupt (12.1; 18.4), immortality (3.4; 4.1; 8.13, 17; 15.3) immortal (1.15), eternity (3.8; 4.2, 19; 5.15; 6.21; 12.10; 13.9; 14.6, 13; 18.4), eternal (8.13; 10.14; 17.2). He makes use of technical terms from contemporary philosophy as he adapts the Old Testament promises dealing with the salvation of the chosen people to his more fully developed teaching on the unending happiness of individual men.

His great interest in man's final destiny leads him to reflect upon the way man comes to blessed immortality with God. On the one hand, man needs justice and personal virute.[49] But on the other hand, immortality is a gift of divine Wisdom (8.13, 17). The just man is sustained by his hope of eternal life (3.4) in contrast to the wicked, whose hopes are empty.[50]

By means of punishments God seeks repeatedly to induce sinners to repent and accept the gift of immortality. He also

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[49]Wis 1.15; 2.22; 4.1; 6.18; 15.3. The Sage's use of the technical Greek philosophical term aretē for moral virtue is a departure from LXX vocabulary in favor of hellenistic anthropology; see André Pelletier, Flavius Josèphe adaptateur de la Lettre d' Aristée (Paris, 1962) 264, 119.

[50]Wis 3.11, 18; 5.14; 13.10; 15.6, 10; 16.29; the linking of hope and immortality is noted in E. Gärtner, Komposition, 155.

seeks to convert them by striking acts of intervention on behalf of those who worship him (3.19; 4.15; 5.15; 11.2-4; 18.11). This divine searching for men reveals God as Father to the just and as all-powerful Master who is able to snatch his children from any danger.[51] This power accounts for one of the most characteristic features of Wis, the theme of God's using nature to fight for the just.[52] In his saving protection God proves himself to be the "benefactor" of the just, much like a hellenistic king toward his subjects. Wisdom uses various forms of the common hellenistic compound for "acting as a benefactor," although these words appear seldom in biblical literature.[53]

In his synthetic view of the universe as being directed

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[51]God is seen as Father of the just in 2.16-18; 5.5; 9.7; 11.10; 12.19; 14.3; 16.10, 26; 18.4, 13. As regards the individual worshiper, this theme is quite rare elsewhere in the Old Testament; see Arndt-Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, 641. The figure of snatching the just from danger is found in 2.18; 4.11; 10.15; 14.4; 16.8; 19.9.

[52]Wis 5.17-23; 16.17-24; 18.3-4; 19.6-13c, 18.21; also probably in 18.24, because God's fidelity to his covenant gives efficacy to the high priest's intercession and enlists all creation in it; see A. Jaubert, La notion d'Alliance dans le Judaisme, 397, 485.

[53]Wis 3.5; 7.22; 11.5, 13; 16.2, 11, 24; 19.14. For use of the term in inscriptions see T. B. Mitford, "Helenos, Governor of Cyprus," JHS 79 (1959) 94-131.

toward the final destiny of the just, the Sage exalts God's power over the entire cosmos, of which he is the unique and transcendent Creator.[54] Its order and harmony is the product of the wisdom of him who "disposes all things in measure and number and weight" (11.20). Yet the order of creation is flexible enough to admit God's personal intervention, which does not destroy its harmony but merely suspends its natural laws. The divine power can mobilize its elements in a way that effects a superior harmony, one that serves his saving will. The entire work manifests an effort to use natural science for apologetic purposes.[55] The negative aspect of this theme of man's immortality is the Sage's repetition of the truth that sin sows its own punishment. Part of the plan of God's justice is that sinners reap the fruits of their own evil acts.[56]

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[54]Wis 1.13-14; 2.23; 6.7; 9.1, 9; 10.1; 11.17, 24; 12.12, 16; 13.1, 3, 5; 14.11; 15.1; 16.24; 19.6.

[55]See J. P. M. Sweet, "The Theory of Miracles in the Wisdom of Solomon," Miracles, ed. by C. F. D. Moule, p. 124. The approach of the Sage provides believers with an alternative both to the scientific speculation of materialistic cosmologists and to the view that the cosmos is a "living animal," as hellenistic religious philosophers held.

[56]Wis 1.16; 2.24; 3.10-11; 10.8; 11.15-16; 12.23-27. The idea that sin produces its own punishment appears in the Old Testament, especially in prophetic writings, but Wis goes further and integrates this concept into the synthetic view of a providence that embraces all of creation.

5) Didactic use of history. The Sage sees men and events from Israel's history as types of the salvation of the just and ruin of the wicked. "In place of the people of Israel, the individual just man has now taken his stand."[57] This transportation involves a spiritualizing and universalizing of the covenant promises. In some stylistic aspects it resembles contemporary Jewish apocalyptic writings, but in spirit it rejects the fierce nationalism of that literary genre.[58] The author presupposes a thorough knowledge of Jewish history and tradition in his readers, and carefully avoids the mention of any proper names except for two authentic Greek forms, namely, the Red Sea (10.18; 18.7) and the Pentapolis (10.6), a place name not found in the actual biblical account (see Gen 19.22). This systematic suppression makes all persons types, either of the just man or of the sinner.

The Sage is actually articulating in an artistic way an elaborate thesis that views the just man in terms of God's care

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[57]G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 109; see pp. 85,94-95.

[58]See A. Jaubert, op. cit., 368-369, which refers to Wis 3.13-14; also G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 121-123.

of his chosen people during the Exodus. Divine providence guards just men of every generation even as it protected the chosen people when they were threatened by powerful enemies. This divine care is efficacious because God is not only all-powerful but also the "lover of life," full of mercy.[59] Chapter 10 forms the bridge between the theoretical and historical developments of the thesis by identifying the historical heroes from Noah to the generation led from Egypt by Moses as the "just." God's choice of a chosen people is a call to justice. When he gave them the experience of the saving power of his Wisdom and made them his friends (see 7.27), God also provided a motive for all just men to trust in him and to believe that they would be with him forever (5.15).[60]

As G. Ziener has shown, this enlargement of perspective from the covenant with Israel to the saving love of God toward

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[59]Wis 11.26; see G. Ziener, ibid., 121. The noun "mercy" appears eight times in Wis 3.9--16.10, and the verb in 11.23. God is "merciless" only to sinners (19.1), who themselves were "merciless" (12.5), and thus sowed their own punishment.

[60]In the elaboration of the thesis the digressions on Enoch (4.10-14), Noah (14.5c-7), the Passover (18.6-9), and the allusions to Paradise (2.23-24) act as unifying factors.

all men is characteristic of the entire book.[61] It manifests a practical polemic and didactic aim fitted to the needs of the times. In showing that just men reach eternal life through the "care" of the Most High (5.15), the Sage made use of an idea employed in the cult of hellenistic kings. Antiochus I of Commagene erected his statue among those of his patron gods to provide his subjects with a "fitting representation of the immortal care" that he exercised toward them.[62] The Sage insists that true divine care is much more profound; man's very existence is witness to it (11.24--12.1; 16.7), and only it can bring man to the true destiny of the just.

This didactic use of history, making concrete acts of divine intervention in the past serve as types of man's eternal salvation, shifts the center of God's saving activity to the arena of the entire world. Each just man and every form of wisdom becomes a manifestation of "justice" and "the hope of the world" (14.6-7), because "a group of wise men is the salvation of the world" (6.24). The Jewish high priest, with his

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[61] G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 73, 93-97.

[62] The text with commentary is found in Heinrich Dörrie, Der Königskult des Antiochos von Kommagene im Lichte neuer Inschriften-Funde (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964) 57-61. The term "care" appears in Wis 5.15; 6.18; 7.4; 8.9; 15.9, and elsewhere in the canonical Old Testament only in Jb 11.18; 15.20. The word used for "representation" in the inscription from Commagene μίμημα appears in the Bible only in Wis 9.8.

robe that contains "the whole world," becomes the mediator of the entire universe (18.24).[63]

Conclusion. This study of flashbacks and themes in Wis reveals it to be a unified composition with a consistent theological outlook. With the sophistication of an experienced teacher and the vision of a creative writer the Sage painstakingly elaborated his own theological synthesis. He did not simply put some Old Testament events into a hellenistic literary form, as the Jewish poet Ezekiel did in his poem on the Exodus. He offers a personal interpretation of history in an artificial style and contemporary vocabulary. Who could be expected to accept this thesis? The question of the Sage's intended readers will be discussed in the following section.

II. Addresses of the Book

The Book of Wisdom has been praised for its beauty and criticized for its verbosity. It has been condemned for trying to prove too much as well as for being irrelevant in its conception of the Exodus. In reality, many of the criticisms leveled against the book are invalid because they fail to take

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[63]See A. Jaubert, op. cit., 350-373, especially on pp. 353, 363, 370.

into account the audience to whom the Sage addressed himself. The first three chapters of this present study offered evidence to prove that the author was a trained rhetorician and that he consciously, deliberately, and artistically, even if somewhat artificially, incorporated his hellenistic encyclopedic learning into his presentation. Who could and would have made the serious effort required to appreciate the learned thesis developed in the course of this sophisticated composition? The evidence converges to indicate that only a group of hellenistic Jewish students, trained not only in their own religious traditions but also in Greek literature and philosophy, in rhetoric and science could have been capable of appreciating the Sage's artistry and allusions. And only members of a group actually occupied in scholarly pursuits would have been disposed to follow such an artificial presentation.

The Sage was living in a civilization that was noted more for its quantity of writings than for their quality. It was an age of manuals, a culture that Marie Laffranque calls "oral." She uses the term not in the sense of a period of popular oral traditions, but as a period of oral instruction. Scholars during the last two centuries before Christ tended to "overestimate

the role of the word and of speeches of all forms." The teacher's great prestige demanded a display of encyclopedic knowledge. Students were trained to value his authority above direct observation.[64]

The Jewish student population of Alexandria during the period before the accession of Augustus came under the influence of this culture.[65] Our investigation of the hellenistic qualities of Wis place the book in this period. As a teacher, the Sage felt at home in the world of learning; as a believing Jew, he was cognizant of the pressures on the consciences of those living in two cultures. This awareness forms the undertone of the polemic that runs throughout the book.[66] And yet, as P. W. Skehan has noted, the author does not argue directly

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[64]Marie Laffranque, Poseidonios d'Apamée (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964) 127, with a bibliography on education of the period. See her references to her articles on the gathering of information and the use of testimonies in the same period, p. 554.

[65]A. J. Festugière treats the encyclopedic education that all of "a certain rank" received, La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste, vol. 2, Le Dieu cosmique (Paris, 1949) 528-533.

[66]This opinion is common among commentators, for example, J. Reider, The Book of Wisdom (N.Y., 1957) 12.

with any adversary.[67] He prefers to carry on a subtle, rational, dispassionate, and artistic dialogue. He remains on the level of classroom apologetics, calculated to enable students to understand and love their native theological traditions and to take a positive stand toward pagan religious belief. He wanted them not simply to be able to withstand attacks on their revealed faith but also to incorporate good qualities of pagan culture into their lives.

In this sense, the Book of Wisdom is an outstanding example of a protreptic as defined by H. I. Marrou. It is an artistically developed "inaugural lecture" of a teacher who wished to direct his students in the pursuit of a noble and stable way of life.[68] It stands in the middle between two related types of writing, but it belongs to neither: (a) pure theological research. The Sage is not an original theorist probing new areas of speculation. He remains on a more practical level in order to give students guidelines for their personal religious life. (b) nor to pure apologetics of direct polemics with pagans

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[67]P. W. Skehan, The Problem of Suffering as Treated in the Book of Wisdom 1.1--6.21 (Washington: Catholic U. of America, 1935; unpublished S.T.L. dissertation) 19.

[68]H. I. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity (N.Y.: Sheed and Ward, 1956) 155. See also above, p. 265.

or apostate Jews. The Sage presupposes deep faith and good will in his readers. He presents opposing views in a form that is too simplistic for his opponents to accept, and he develops his own thesis in a complicated way that makes the give and take of active polemics an impossibility.

Obviously the author felt that Jewish students in Alexandria needed this type of exhortation to prepare them for life in a culture where theology, philosophy, and science were so interwoven. Philosophy was no longer the creative search for truth of the classical age. The Sage was a product of an encyclopedic period, of a civilization that produced the universal but elusive Stoic genius Posidonius, who strove to create a synthesis of new discoveries in the world of nature.[69] The ancient myths and Homeric legends were being ignored or "demythologized" or superseded by scientific explanations of natural phenomena or interpreted as psychological insights.[70] As the allegorizing of Philo shows, the close bonds between religion and philosophy in Hellenism forced cultured Jews to justify a

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[69]See the thorough study by M. Laffranque, op. cit., passim, especially pp. 57, 220-227, 231-232, 239, 405-406, 443.

[70]See Jonas Palm, Über Sprache und Stil des Diodorus von Sizilien (Lund, 1955) 63.

faith in the events narrated in their Scriptures. The Sage does not develop allegorical interpretations; rather, he took cognizance of the demands of scientific progress by explaining how belief in historical divine interventions could be reconciled with contemporary understanding of order in the cosmos.[71]

His exhortation subordinated science to religious belief. His aim was not to withdraw his students from society but to establish them in a continuity of faith with the heroes of their sacred history. By showing that the Lord of Israel is both the unique, all-wise Creator and the all-powerful initiator of man's salvation, he strives to undermine the fundamental principle of philosophical piety that "threw the individual back on his own resources and made everything depend on the determination of his own will."[72] Cultured Alexandrian Jews were in no danger of being enticed by the cult of Baal, but they were exposed to the pagan ethos and to the attraction of mystery cults.[73]

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[71]This method is trated by J. P. M. Sweet, "The Theory of Miracles in the Wisdom of Solomon," Miracles, ed. by C. F. D. Moule (London, 1965) 115-126, on pp. 115-116 and 124-125.

[72]E. Rohde, Psyche (8th ed.; London, 1925) 499. The Sage uses Greek philosophy to give added strength to his opposition to the pagan view that the wise man achieves perfection by his unaided efforts. See Ziener, Begriffssprache, 113.

[73]Philo speaks out against participation in pagan mysteries in De spec. leg. 1.319-320, and against promiscuity, ibid. 3.22. A. D. Nock suggests that Wis 6.22 may have influenced De spec. leg. 1.320, Conversion (Oxford, 1933) 291.

For this reason the Sage rejects strongly every form of idolatry (13.1-9). His position differs from that of the Letter of Aristeas (15-16), which pictures pagans as worshiping the sole Creator under the name of Zeus. On the contrary, the chosen people alone resisted the folly of idolatry that ravished the human race (14.10--15.6). His readers must not betray this heritage. J. C. Rylaarsdam states his position clearly when he writes that Wis "is essentially a reply to those who doubt or deny that the wise and upright are remembered by God (2.1--5.4)."[74] He explains that the divine interventions recorded in the Bible are more than simple records of past wonders. "They are signs of that which Wisdom, always faithful to herself, is still ready to do today and tomorrow to make us friends of God (Wis 7.27)."[75]

The Sage, then, writes with a specific purpose: to enable the future intellectual leaders of his people to develop a positive attitude toward their actual situation. They are neither to be overwhelmed by Hellenism nor to despise its achievements. They must accept scientific progress, but not stop

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[74]J. Court Rylaarsdam, Revelation in Jewish Wisdom Literature (Chicago, 1946) 60.

[75]F. M. Braun, Jean le théologien (Paris: Lecoffre, 1964) 2. 188. Braun cites also Wis 5.6; 16.6-7, 20-21, 26; 17.20; 18.34 as examples of signs of divine revelation.

there. God is the ultimate cause of all that exists; he has created both nature and its laws.[76] The fact that he addresses "kings" is no real objection to this conclusion. The Sage had no illusions that pagan rulers would study his book. In particular, his attacks upon pagan customs may be compared to the prophetic oracles against the pagan nations, for "these speeches were not primarily spoken or written to be heard or acted upon by the nations mentioned."[77] No evidence exists that pagan intellectuals had any knowledge of the LXX,[78] without which an understanding of Wis is inconceivable, because only those with knowledge of Jewish Scriptures would be sympathetic to the Sage's method of writing. His frequent repetition of the phrase, "that (I, we, you, they) may know..." also points to a scholarly audience.[79]

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[76]Compare the approach of Clement of Alexandria, an admirer of Wis, "For God is the cause of all things; of some primarily and directly, like the Old Testament, but of others secondarily and as a consequence, like philosophy," Stromates 1. 28.2; see also 1.17.4; 1.18.4; 1.20.1.

[77]John H. Hayes, "The Usage of Oracles Against Foreign Nations in Ancient Israel," JBL 87 (1968) 81-92, on p. 81.

[78]A. D. Nock, op. cit., 79, 241, with notes on p. 286.

[79]Wis 2.19; 9.10; 10.12; 11.16; 16.22.

In reality, the address to judges, to kings, and to other rulers (1.1; 6.1, 21) also points to an academic milieu, because this is a recognized literary device, comparable to the author's identification of himself with wise King Solomon, who built the Temple (7.1--8.20).[80] Once this technique is recognized as part of the Sage's rhetorical training, it follows that it is erroneous to look for actual historical kings or lesser public officials, or to identify the "kings" with all cultured people of the time, as G. Ziener suggests.[81] On the contrary, this device is a help in specifying the intended audience because it implies that the author wished to work within a tradition long established in Greek literature. This style of address was an accepted feature of the hellenistic tracts on

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[80]See R. Cornely, Commentarius in Librum Sapientiae, 8; J. Reider, The Wisdom of Solomon, 99. In commenting on 6.2, Reider states that the work is for "home-consumption," and places it in the line of the prophetic denunciations of the pagans, p. 100. R. T. Siebeneck is ambiguous, "The appeal to the rulers of the earth may be no more than a literary device," "The Midrash of Wisdom 10--19," CBQ 22 (1960) 176. Holding for a literal interpretation of the title is F. Zorell, "Principes invitantur ad quaerendam sapientiam. Sap 6 ex graeco," VD 7 (1927) 28-32. P. W. Skehan sees the address to rulers as following the tradition of Hebrew biblical writers in calling upon the widest possible audience to hear important messages, "Borrowings from the Psalms in the Book of Wisdom," CBQ 10 (1948) 384-397, on p. 385.

[81]G. Ziener, Begriffssprache, 161; contrast the opinion of P. W. Skehan in the article cited in the previous note.

kingship, discussed in Chapter II of this study, and by the first century B.C. it was a literary commonplace.[82] In this framework the term "king" assumed the same connotation that it had in Greek and Latin comedies,[83] and even in the Greek translation of Jewish sacred writings. Thus, in the LXX the simple friends of Job became "kings" (Jb. 2.11), and in Is 51.4 LXX God addresses "kings" rather than the "folk" of the Hebrew text.

The Book of Wisdom does not belong to those tracts written to flatter ruling tyrants,[84] and it would have had little "propaganda" value among pagans hostile to Jewish life and belief. The real significance of the address lies in the implications that it had for the students to which it was directed. When they came to the portrait of the truly wise man in 7.15--8.18, they felt its impact. The Sage was showing that true

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[82]See Annie Jaubert, La notion d'Alliance dans le Judaïsme, 370. By a literary fiction the tract of Ps-Aristotle, De mundo is addressed to Alexander the Great. See also the linking of "kings, tyrants and wise men" in Menander 538k4.

[83]See P. W. Harsh, "Possible Greek Background for the word Rex as Used by Platus," Classical Philology 31 (1936) 62-68. Historically the term king also included lesser officials; see A. Pelletier, Flavius Josèphe adaptateur de la Lettre d'Aristée, 288-295. The author of Wis is simply using the literary convention of his time, which found its way even into the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. By combining this device with a literary allusion to Ps 2.10 in 1.1, the Sage was trying to evoke the good will of his readers.

[84]See L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriau, Le Cult des souvrains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine (Tournai, 1957) 435.

kingly dignity is a life of justice and wisdom, for God fashioned men to rule his creation "in piety and justice" (9.3) and destined them to share in his eternal kingship (5.15; 6.21). By this form of address he reminded the readers that they were called by God to rule the "real" world, not the physical universe in which they were then living, but the renewed world that follows physical death (5.2-9, 15-16). This world awaits the just and the wise; they are the true kings.

An additional motive may have played a part in the Sage's choice of this form of address, namely, his interest in the source of authority in civil society. In contrast to writers of the Hebrew Bible, who were concerned primarily with God's rule over Israel and never speculated on a theory of government in general, he teaches that certain norms apply to all civil governments because all rulers receive their power from the one Lord of the universe (6.3). As C. Larcher explains, he is the only biblical author to elaborate upon the theoretical aspects of the problem of authority. His contribution was to "coordinate different biblical data in an original way" in order to show that the personal, transcendent Creator is the ultimate source of every form of ruling power.[85] This interest, which shows

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[85]C. Larcher, "L'origine divine du pouvoir d'après le Livre de la Sagesse," LumVi 49; 9 (1960) 84-98, on p. 94. He treats Wis's relation to the "Greek problematic" of the origin of authority. He sees Wis 6.1-11, 18-21 as anticipating Rom 13.1.

a further link to the hellenistic tracts on kingship, also places the work in the milieu of the academic community, where such discussions take place. The Sage's manner of treating this question in 6.1-11 exhibits what F. Focke calls "purely psychological and ethical" interest, the type to be expected in a hortatory work.[86]

An objection might be raised that, if the entire work is addressed to Jewish students, the diatribe against pagan idolatry would be out of place. The answer lies in the actual situation of these students. As they were part of two worlds, belonging as they did to the revealed religion of Israel and to a cosmopolitan society, the Sage wanted to show the relation between their sacred history and the growth of the entire human race. Just as he used the events of the Exodus to teach God's mercy and saving power toward his worshipers, so he sees in the history of the pagan world that God's care and dominion extends to all men. In the world God manifests himself in many ways: through his Wisdom (9.2-6), through his Word (16.12; 18.15-16), through the Law (16.6; 18.4), through nature (13.4-5), through

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[86]F. Focke, Die Entstehung der Weisheit Salomos, 44; he also quotes Grimm's commentary as adopting this opinion.

wondrous interventions (5.2-5; 18.13); all of these are expressions of his saving providence for men of good will (6.12-16). But some men do not respond to God's favor. The Sage's treatment of idolatry prepares his students, who are coming into contact with cultured pagans, to recognize and explain the universal influence of God to them.

It is true that the Book of Wisdom would have appealed to one group of pagans, namely, Jewish proselytes of cultured society, "those who fear the Lord" (Acts 13.16), pagans dissatisfied with contemporary philosophical religious speculation. They would have found in the Sage a religious writer offering them insights into the salvation for which they were searching. He displayed a positive attitude toward human culture, and showed that divine providence wished men to use human learning (7. 15-21; 14.3; 17.2). The force unifying the world is God's spirit rather than the natural bond perceived by the Stoics (1.7). In this sense can be understood the praise of Annie Jaubert for the author's ability to bring the contributions of philosophy into a synthesis based on faith:

> Under the formulas borrowed from Stoicism is manifest the diffusive character of divine wisdom; its very nature is to seek to communicate itself....It is per-

> missible to think that the author envisages a public that goes far beyond the Israelites of his own race. Here is a theology for all 'those who fear God,' who frequented the Israelite synagogues.[87]

Conclusion. The Book of Wisdom was not written for a popular audience but for the religious education of a group of Jewish students who were preparing for life in the hellenistic metropolis. It is an intricate and artistic appeal that does not make easy reading. The vocabulary is deliberately pedantic, the presentation obviously artificial and sophisticated. As explained in Chapter I, it is full of literary conceits. This is the style of writing that appealed to students of Greek rhetoric in the first century B.C., although modern readers find it heavy and tedious.

The author was evidently a teacher in one of the Jewish centers of learning in Alexandria, well acquainted with contemporary culture and committed to demonstrating the relevance of the principles of Judaism to the future intellectual leaders of his people. The book shows evidence of growth; it is too learned and complex to have been composed in a short time. The

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[87] A. Jaubert, op. cit., 370.

Sage was a man who learned as he taught, and he incorporated new insights into his great exhortation. He dealt with a wide range of problems and experimented with various smaller literary genres. His masterpiece shows an organic, over-all unity, although not all of its parts received the same care in editing, nor are all of its concepts equally developed. These shortcomings have provided a basis for critics who have attacked the unity of the book or of its authorship, or who have suggested that the first half of the book was written when the Sage was a young man, and the second half in his old age. The arguments presented in this chapter support unity of authorship; they also suggest that the composition took some length of time. However, the unity of theological outlook and the complementary nature of the various parts of the work show that its growth was organic rather than disjoined into widely separated periods.

As a protreptic, Wis fits into the educational literature of the hellenistic era. Perhaps its nearest modern counterpart is the formal introductory lecture that new professors must give in some institutions of learning. It is part of a genre of literature that never had a wide circulation, and, in fact, most

of its category has been lost.[88] Yet, it did provide the basis from which more popular expositions sprang. As L. Alonso Schökel recognized, its author was essentially a teacher, a searcher after truth. He "wants to penetrate, understand, get to the heart" of truth, and he does so by means of "symbolic contemplation." He skillfully uses literary figures for serious intellectual goals.[89] His exhortation still has an appeal to those willing to undertake the scholastic discipline required to follow his intricate thesis.

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[88]See H. B. Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek (Cambridge, 1900) 269. For evidence of class lectures on a lower level see Octave Guérand and Pierre Jouquet, Un livre d'écolier du III^e siècle avant J-C (Cairo, 1938).

[89]Luis Alonso Schökel, Sapientia, notes ad usum privatum (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, n.d.) 21.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The complex and sophisticated Book of Wisdom has not yet yielded all of its secrets. They will be fully revealed only by continued study of the author's purpose as reflected in his use of religious, social, philosophical, literary, and cultural influences at work upon him. The commentator's task is both to elucidate these influences and to determine the manner in which he accepted or modified or transformed them to create a personal composition for his intended audience.

Because only a small fraction of hellenistic writings is extant, it is not possible to control all the pagan sources that the Sage used. In view of the imperfect knowledge of this period, it is not surprising that no thorough investigation of hellenistic influence on Wis had been attempted before this present study. Modern studies in Hellenism since the monumental works on the Book of Wisdom by such men as C. Grimm, P. Heinisch, F. Focke, and M. J. Lagrange, now make it possible to understand better the Sage's choice of vocabulary and his method of treating

his subject matter (see p. 2). For example, the vocabulary and style of the Epicurean Philodemus (110-28 B.C.), whose writings are now better known from the discoveries at Herculaneum, have many similarities with Wis. Much of the encyclopedic knowledge attributed by the Sage to divine Wisdom is of the same nature as that found in the popular Alexandrian manuals for students. They seem to have their inspiration from the great Stoic experimental scientist Posidonius (c. 130-40 B.C.), but this is impossible to verify because most of his writings have been lost, and by this time even rival philosophical schools had many common features.[1]

The present study originated in the recognition that Wis was not written in the style of the LXX and from the discovery that 335 words used in it are not found in the LXX (see pp. 4-6). Further research revealed that both the style and a significant part of the Sage's vocabulary conformed to features characteristic of late hellenistic philosophical and rhetorical prose. H. B. Swete had recognized that the author was familiar with contemporary Greek philosophy and literary standards. In fact, he called Wis the "solitary survival from the wreck of the earlier

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[1]Marie Laffranque, Poseidonios d'Apamee, 411; see also pp. 63 and 194.

works of the philosophical school of Alexandria which culminated in Philo."[2]

On the other hand, it is obvious that the Sage was thoroughly familiar with the Jewish Bible and with many popular traditions of the chosen people. P. W. Skehan and G. Ziener correctly concluded that the Bible was the fundamental source for the content of Wis (see pp. 197-198). But the literary investigations of the former also show that the Sage used biblical material in a creative way. He often combined passages and added precision to their thought. Some of his added details depend upon a knowledge of pagan customs (15.15; see p. 16).

Why did this author, a deeply religious thinker who loved his people and their traditions, incorporate elements of hellenistic Greek culture into his work? The solution must be found in the needs and expectations of his intended readers. The style and literary allusions imply an audience so well trained in Greek literature and philosophy that they were capable of enjoying this learned production. Evidence collected

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[2]Henry Barclay Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek 269. Swete lists 23 unusual words found in Wis on p. 269, and gives several compound words found in the first six chapters on pp. 311-312, but does not attempt a complete study of the grammar.

in this study indicated that the Sage wrote to prepare well educated Jewish students to live in hellenistic society. Their level of culture demanded a sophisticated presentation of a thesis. The Sage wanted to provide them with religious insights upon which to build a bridge between their revealed faith and their cultured pagan fellow citizens (see pp. 319-334).

Believing that the chosen people as such had a universal mission to bring the "incorruptible light of the Law" to all mankind (18.4), he wished to guide and encourage this cultured segment of it to carry out this saving role toward pagans of good will in their milieu.

The Procedure of the Sage

The study of influences upon any author is a delicate operation, and the conclusions reached have varying degrees of certitude. As a free agent, a creative author is to some extent master of his sources, which he adapts to serve his own needs and purposes. Yet, even the most creative author is a product of tradition. His originality appears in an ability to choose and combine elements of tradition that offer help in dealing with the problems his audience faces. His ability to shape human destiny depends upon his success in proving to his

readers that he offers what they need to achieve their destiny.

As a practical religious teacher, the Sage was moved to write by the threat to faith to which Jewish students in Alexandria were exposed. The reflections of M. Smith on the hellenization of Judaism can help in an appreciation of the Sage's procedure. Smith notes that the "active influence" on a preacher or commentator on Scripture is usually the contemporary situation. Thus he concludes that it is "implausible to attribute to ancient or local or peripheral influences any characteristic of Maccabean or later Judaism which can be explained by reference to the contemporary and universal and immediate influence of hellenistic culture."[3] Applied to the composition of Wis, this means that the Sage felt that the attractive features of hellenistic culture offered both a challenge and an opportunity for the believer. Advances in Greek culture, in philosophy, psychology, personal religious experience, and scientific knowledge, had to be brought into a relationship with God's saving truth as revealed in the Bible. G. Gerleman had already concluded that hellenistic influences, especially Stoicism, were already

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[3]Morton Smith, "The Image of God. Notes on the Hellenization of Judaism, with especial reference to Goodenough's work on Jewish Symbols," BJRL 40 (1958) 473-512, on p. 481.

at work in the Greek translation of the Bible (see p. 27). And this study has showed that it is Hellenism rather than the classical Greek period which influenced the Sage. He constantly takes into account the questions occupying the minds of his readers in order to make the message of revelation significant for them.

Examples of the influence of hellenistic style upon Wis were treated in the first chapter (see pp. 57-69). Chapter II was devoted to the presentation of evidence showing in-depth influence of contemporary hellenistic religion, philosophy, and science on Wis. The impact of religious practices popular in hellenistic Egypt was shown by a comparison of terms in Wis with the vocabulary of extant Isis hymns (see pp. 83-110). The Sage's criticism of religion based on unaided human reason was then analyzed (see pp. 110-138). How hellenistic speculation as found in late eclectic philosphical literature and the tracts on kingship influenced his understanding of the just man's role in this life and man's eternal destiny was then treated (pp. 138-197).

For both the principal and the smaller literary genres of his book the Sage chose from among those being then employed in hellenistic philosophical writings, and offered his readers a

protreptic (see pp. 200-272). The unity of the entire Book of Wisdom, treated at the beginning of the fourth chapter, indicated that the work was directed to a cultured group of Jewish students capable of appreciating its many literary allusions and its "Alexandrian school terminology" (see pp. 273-319).[4] By incorporating hellenistic learning so thoroughly into his work the author intended to actualize revelation in the way that would best encourage them to carry out their responsibilities as believers in a cosmopolitan society.

The probative force of this thesis rests upon the cumulative effect of all the arguments presented; they help to reinforce each other. All commentators on Wis have admitted that its author was acquainted to some extent with contemporary pagan culture. By the time he wrote the individual Greek philosophical schools had lost much of their individuality and borrowed freely from each other. The Sage's practical religious attitude made him interested in the questions then being discussed by these religiously oriented philosophies. From his acquaintance with them he was able to deal with the actual problems facing his readers. This sensitivity to contemporary cultural influences,

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[4]The phrase is that of Sidney G. Sowers, The Hermeneutics of Philo and Hebrews (Zürich, 1965) 132.

a quality necessary for effective exhortation, enabled him to choose and develop biblical themes that had an appeal to hellenistic readers (see pp. 307-319). Thus, instead of presenting friendship with God in terms of past and present divine favors toward a particular chosen people, he universalizes the picture of God's care for men and stresses the destiny of each man to an incorruptible state of eternal friendship with God (see pp. 154, 178, 312-313, 319).

He exploits insights of the various schools of hellenistic philosophy in their late religious expression because he knew that such an approach would provide his intended readers with an instrument to deal with their pagan friends who had frequented them. For example, he mentions the Stoic teaching on the role of a divine bond that unifies the universe (1.7), and appreciates the place of the cardinal virtues in moral life (8.7). He recognizes the advances made by the Aristotelian school in anthropology and psychology by making use of its conception of physical nature and the potencies of the soul (see pp. 182, 188). He borrows the technical vocabulary used by Epicureans in discussing the immortality of the gods. That school held that the gods continued in existence indefinitely because they possessed

the quality of "incorruptibility." The Sage applied this term to the special grace that God gives to just men to bring them to unending happiness with himself (see pp. 146-154).

His use of Hellenism, therefore, is primarily strategic; it serves as an effective means of building a bridge between received biblical faith and the contemporary situation of his readers. For him the Law is the incorruptible light for the guidance of all mankind (18.4). Without its help men are exposed to the various forms of false religion dealt with in Wis 13--15. The Sage's enduring theological contribution was to show that the truth of revelation embraces, envelops, and integrates all human history, learning, and progress into God's saving plan for mankind. His critique of the shortcoming of Hellenism appears best in his masterfully composed evaluation of nature worship (13.1-9). It is the epitome of philosophical religion which by nature falls short of a correct understanding of creation. Nature and all cultural values are good as means toward aiding man in fulfilling his total destiny, but they are not man's final destiny. As regards the cultural values of pagan learning, his attitude is one of openness, "a real attempt to use whatever Greek thought had to offer."[5]

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[5]R. T. Siebeneck, "Wisdom, Book of," New Catholic Encyclopedia (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1967) 14.974-975.

In the face of the ever-present danger of "hatred of strangers" towards Jews in the hellenistic world (see p. 47; Wis 19.13), the Sage apparently felt that educated Jews might defect unless Judaism recognized and accepted the benefits that Greek culture brought to mankind. At the same time, he knew that Judaism could not survive if it abandoned its faith in the personal, transcendent God of revelation (see pp. 117-138). Hence, his aim was to integrate improvements in human learning achieved by Greek scholarship into the biblical doctrine of God. The unique Lord of revelation is also the God of creation, source of order, dynamism, and beauty in the universe (13.5), and he does not want the works of his wisdom to be "useless" (14.5). The whole book is an expression of the Sage's mature and learned faith, beautiful in spite of its affected expression, in a world of uncertainty and skepticism.

The very structure of the book morrors his religious vision of reality. It encloses world history, that is, the religious aberrations of pagans, within salvation history, summarized in the typological presentation of God's saving providence in the Exodus. This arrangement seeks to teach the proper scale of values. God is absolute Master of all (12.15); in mercy and

justice his providence efficaciously directs all creation to the salvation of those who trust in him (16.24; see 19.22). Man's entire life on earth is a period of probation.[6] All creation and human knowledge of it are good, but man's happiness demands that he transcend them and seek God's immortal justice with an upright heart (1.1; see 6.21; 7.27). In insisting that divine Wisdom rather than created perfections brings man to his ultimate fulfillment, that is, to eternal friendship with God, the Sage universalized the message of Deuteronomy that man cannot live by bread alone.[7] Only God's law and mercy and word bring men healing and salvation (16. 6, 10, 12, 26).

By this broad and fundamentally transcendent vision of human history and personal destiny, the author shows how events that seem trivial in purely human terms can serve a didactic purpose (see pp. 316-319). Thus, despite his praise of divine Wisdom as the source of encyclopedic knowledge, the Sage knew

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[6]J. Coert Rylaarsdam, Revelation in Jewish Wisdom Literature (U. of Chicago, 1946) 60. The Sage's aim was not to "denationalize" the Old Testament, as A. Causse described his purpose, but rather to develop a more transcendent vision of man's destiny.

[7]See G. Ziener, "Weisheitsbuch und Johannes-Evangelium," Bib 38 (1957) 396-418, on p. 406.

that progress in human learning and culture were coming to men at that time from pagan thinkers, not from the chosen people. And yet, paradoxically, this world-shaping hellenistic civilization could learn true wisdom, without which man must be considered as nothing, only from God (9.6). The true kings of the world are those led by divine Wisdom, God's minister of salvation (9.18). One might compare the Sage's appraisal of his time with what Teilhard de Chardin called "the problem of the two faiths," the tension between the Forward and the Upward.[8] He strove to show his readers that Hellenism's human faith in the closed cosmos and immanent Eon was not the final answer to man's religious quest; man needs the dynamic faith in the free, personal God of revelation who transcends the whole of creation.

In keeping with this vision of faith, the first two sections of Wis (1.1--10.21) develop the thesis that perfect happiness is attained only by the wise and just man, and then only in the kingdom of the saints after physical death. Thus, in spite of his use of technical vocabulary from hellenistic philosophy, the immortality that he preaches is not the simple

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[8]See Robert I. Faricy, "The Problem of the Two Faiths," Teilhard de Chardin's Theology of the Christian in the World, (N.Y.: Sheed and Ward, 1967) 3-31; see also above, pp. 129-138.

unending survival of the human soul. On the contrary, it is a special divine gift conferred only on just men by God and his divine Wisdom. By the link between justice and wisdom, the Sage does not relegate man's happiness to life after death but establishes an organic link between openness to God now and life with him forever.

The final two sections of the book (11.1--19.22) show that God's comprehensive plan of salvation respects human freedom and the natural laws governing the universe and all creatures in it. God's all-embracing love sustains all creatures in their natural existence (11.24), but in addition, he exercises a special saving care to bring just men to a transcendent destiny. In distinguishing these two relationships of creatures toward God, the Sage strove to relate science and the miraculous; thus he laid a basis for the understanding of the supernatural order.[9] God's power is in no way curtailed by the order of the cosmos; his saving plan both respects this order and makes use of it. The events of sacred history are merely types or examples of the

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[9] J. C. Rylaarsdam, op. cit., 90. G. Ziener affirms that the distinction of natural and supernatural is already found in Wis, art. cit., 417.

divine plan of salvation that embraces the entire human race.

This is a dynamic vision of God's providence that stands in creative continuity with Old Testament theology in its legal, prophetic, sapiential, and apocalyptic expressions. The Sage maintains love for the Temple (8.8), for the Law (18.4), for the heroes of sacred history (10.1-21), for the prophetic ideals of justice (1.1); he looks to an earth-shaking judgment of God (5.17-23). Yet, he expresses the hopes of revealed faith in more universal terms than any earlier biblical writer by his openness to cultural advances. He uses human history to defend God's manner of dealing with mankind, and he employs his encyclopedic learning to present the "idea of immortality as vindication of divine justice."[10] Those who trust divine Wisdom can look forward full of hope to a share in the happiness of the "saints" (5.5). A universal synthesis is presented in that "Earth is now fused with its heavenly archetype, the divine dwelling for which Zion and its Temple once formed here below

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[10]B. F. Westcott, "Wisdom of Solomon," Smith's Dictionary of the Bible (Cambridge, 1872) 4. 3545-3551, on p. 3549. He sees the identification of the serpent with the devil (2.23-24) as the most remarkable development of biblical doctrine in Wis. See also O. S. Rankin, Israel's Wisdom Literature; Its Bearing on Theology and History of Religion (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936) 114.

the 'sacramental' (in the wide sense of the term) image (see Wis 9.8)."[11]

The Sage, therefore, did not place Hellenism on an equal footing with his revealed faith. He was not part of the trend toward what M. Hadas called "hellenistic fusion," for which the values of Greek culture were the supreme norm.[12] For him faith was not only fundamental but also the integrating force that sought the help of reason in explaining man's destiny. His aim was to synthesize, although C. F. D. Moule prefers to criticize his attempt to explain miracles as divine rearrangements of nature as an unsuccessful "compromise."[13]

Was his synthesis successful? The final couplet of the work indicates that he saw his insights as pointing to a fulfilment still unknown. The Sage could not explain fully the climax of the divine plan. The Key had not yet been revealed, because

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[11]P. Grelot, Sens chrétien de l'Ancien Testament (Tournai: Desclée, 1962) 388.

[12]Moses Hadas, "Plato in Hellenistic Fusion," Journal of the History of Ideas 19 (1958) 3-13; see above, p. 199.

[13]C. F. D. Moule, ed., Miracles (London: Mowbray, 1965) 8.

history in its fullest sense depends "upon the unique Mediator through which humanity reaches its salvation in every order, namely, Jesus Christ."[14] The place of the Book of Wisdom in the progress of revelation reveals at once the possibilities and the insufficiency of the Old Testament, whose characteristics are to be "progressive and incomplete."[15]

Hellenistic Judaism as Reflected in the Book of Wisdom

This book offers us the vision of Judaism of one cultured, educated, profoundly religious, hellenized Jew living in cosmopolitan Alexandria about a generation before the birth of Jesus. His faith was centered upon the universal triumph of God's law and mercy (18.4; 11.26--12.1). He looked for a divine apocalyptic intervention foreshadowed in the past marvels of sacred history (5.17-23), and believed firmly in the endless reign of the just with God (5.15-16). He does not even mention

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[14]P. Grelot, La Bible, Parole de Dieu (Tournai: Desclée, 1965) 252; see his discussion of the way sacred and profane history are directed to the Incarnation. See also L. Alonso Schökel, "The Old Testament, a Christian Book," Bib 44 (163) 210-216.

[15]R. de Vaux, RB 70 (1963) 293, reviewing G. von Rad's Theology of the Old Testament.

the personal Davidic heir. From the prophets, and especially from Second Isaiah, he drew insight into truths of God's wisdom, justice, and mercy. His freedom and creativity in handling biblical narratives shows that he looked upon Scripture as a living message that had to be confronted in faith and reflected upon in prayer for insights about God and man. Only then would it provide direction in dealing with contemporary problems.

The Sage belonged to the segment of Judaism that was trying to universalize the teaching of Scripture. His method was not that of allegory used later by Philo, but rather that of typology. In this he is closer to the method used by St. Paul to describe the relations between the Old and New Covenants.[16] However, he does not seem to have been part of any particular school within hellenistic Judaism, but rather to have worked alone and to have recorded the fruits of a long period of personal reflection and instruction. His personal style and original approach, as well as the carefully constructed composition must be taken into account in drawing conclusions about his

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[16]For Paul's use of types see Rom 5.14; 1 Cor 10.6. I. Heinemann, "Die Allegoristik der hellenistischen Juden ausser Philo," Mnemosyne, Ser. 4, 5 (1952) 130-138, calls the method of Wis "symbolic."

background and purpose.[17]

Whether any New Testament writer used this book as a source is a problem that has not been definitely resolved, although the majority of commentators assume it to be a fact. F. Focke argued strongly against this position, and more recently L. Dulière also opposed it.[18] The question merits a more thorough study than the short treatment devoted to it in the recent article of C. Romaniuk, which is supported by little philological analysis.[19] The problem of fixing the exact date of Wis also demands further investigation. Proposed dates run from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D., although the majority of commentators favor the first century B.C. Future discoveries in Greek epigraphy may offer help on this point, but the publication of the Supplement to the Liddell-Scott, A Greek-English

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[17]Failure to give more attention to style and vocabulary is a serious weakness in the study of F. Ricken, "Gab es eine hellenistische Vorlage für Weish 13--15?" Bib 49 (1968) 54-86. For example Wis 15.7-13 contains four hapax legomena and 10 words never found elsewhere in the Bible.

[18]F. Focke, Die Entstehung der Weisheit Salomos (Göttingen, 1913), and citing C. L. W. Grimm to the same effect, pp. 35-36. W. L. Dulière, "Antinous et le Livre de la Sagesse," ZRGG 11 (1959) 201-227, dates the book too late to have influenced New Testament writers on pp. 204-206.

[19]Casimir Romaniuk, "Le Livre de la Sagesse dans le Nouveau Testament," NTS 14 (1967-68) 498-514.

Lexicon has failed to yield any significant advances on the distinctive vocabulary of Wis.[20]

Consequences of Hellenistic Influence on Wisdom

The presence of hellenistic influence on vocabulary, style, subject matter, and literary forms used in Wis is significant for a proper evaluation of the author's goals and his success in achieving them. Only by understanding an author's literary method can a commentator appreciate the significance of the various developments within the work. For example, the Sage's addressing himself to "kings" reveals that his aim is primarily hortatory (see pp. 327-330). He makes necessary criticism of pagan mysteries more palatable by directing his remarks against the ancient Canaanites (12.3-7), although he knows that his readers would recognize allusions to Greek myths as portrayed in the classical tragedies.[21]

In forming their judgment upon this work, then, commentators must respect the artistry of the Sage, which manifests itself in a variety of ways. He was creative in his use of

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[20]E. A. Barber, ed., A Greek-English Lexicon. A Supplement (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968). See above p. 17. For epigraphy see the annual bulletin by J. and L. Robert in REG.

[21]For detailed proof see D. Gill, "The Greek Sources of Wisdom 12.3-7," Vetus Testamentum 15 (1965) 383-386. An example of this style of writing appears also in Livy 23.5.12.

Scripture, both in his elaboration of typical examples of justice (3.1--5.1) and in his skillful construction of the didactic parallels which climax the book. He skillfully chose appropriate events and developed them by the addition of details that were meaningful to his own audience. And he did this without any elaborate quotations or appeals to authority or even the use of proper names. Such a method contrasts sharply with the appeals to authority, the "materiality," and the "forced applications" characteristic of Jewish midrash.[22]

This artistry clothed a serious purpose. He was raising for his readers serious questions about man's relationship to God and his purpose in life (see pp. 76-138), and man's role during his life upon earth (see pp. 160-197). The educated hellenistic Jew had to steer between two erroneous courses: a) the dualism of Platonistic philosophies which looked upon matter as evil and upon immortality as an intrinsic quality of the soul to be achieved by escape from the body; b) the pantheism of contemporary philosophy, especially Stoicism, which identified man and his destiny with the universe in some fashion. As expressed by Cicero, "Man is born to contemplate and imitate the World."[23]

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[22]See F. M. Braun, "L'Evangile de St. Jean et les grandes traditions d'Israel," Revue Thomiste 60 (1960) 325-363, p. 363.

[23]Cicero, De natura deorum 2.114.

The modern commentator cannot be content merely to anlyze this work in its original setting. He must take the further step of interpreting it for today's readers, that is, he must try to discover its normative value in terms of contemporary needs. With progress in civilization come also new challenges to faith and new situations to which the revelation of Scripture must be applied. The Sage's willingness to take secular culture seriously and to use it as catalyst in developing a more universal understanding of divine providence and of human nature invites the modern commentator to use his insights for interpreting modern problems. For Scripture contains "that truth which God wanted put into the sacred writings for the sake of our salvation."[24]

In reality, the Sage's preoccupation to speak to cultured men of his time gives this book special significance for Christians in the light of Vatican II's teaching on "The Proper Development of Culture" in its Pastoral Constitution on The Church in the Modern World.[25] In the face of new problems facing the chosen people, the Sage assumed the responsibility similar to

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[24]Vatican II, De verbum 11; English text in W. M. Abbott, The Documents of Vatican II (N.Y.: Guild, 1966) 119.

[25]Vatican II, Gaudium et Spes 53-62; English text in W. M. Abbott, ibid., 259-270.

that imposed upon Christian scholars by modern progress.[26] It would be unrealistic to expect the author of Wis to furnish practical solutions for the questions being formulated by today's intellectuals. And yet the problems to which he addressed himself are not without parallel to those facing the modern believing exeget teaching in the name of the Church pledged to renewal in contemporary society. This study of the nature and extent of hellenistic influence upon the author of the Book of Wisdom was undertaken in the belief that this intriguing work has meaning for modern readers, and with the hope of making its method and message better understood.

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[26]On this question see Roderick A. Mackenzie, "The Function of Scholars in Forming the Judgment of the Church," L. K. Schook, ed., Theology of Renewal (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1968) 2. 118-132.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	Acta Apostolicae Sedis
A-G	W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament
AmJPh	American Journal of Philology
AJT	American Journal of Theology
ArRefg	Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
Bib	Biblica
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBJ	Corpus Papyrorum Judaicorum
DBS	Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible
ETL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae (Berlin, 1890--)
ITQ	Irish Theological Quarterly
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archeology
JHS	Journal of Hellenistic Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies

JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
Lampe	G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon
L-S-J	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon, 9th ed.
LumVi	Lumière et Vie
LXX	Septuagint version
MusHel	Museum Helveticum
NRT	Nouvelle Revue Théologique
ParPass	Parola del Passato
RB	Revue Biblique
REA	Revue des Etudes Anciennes
REG	Revue des Etudes Grecques
REByz	Revue des Etudes Byzantines
REJ	Revue des Etudes Juives et Historia Judaica
RHT	A. J. Festugière, La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste, 4 vols.
RHPhilRel	Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses
RSR	Recherches de Science Religieuse
ScotJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
SIG	W. Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecorum
SVF	J. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TTZ	Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift

TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
VD	Verbum Domini
VT	Vetus Testamentum
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZKT	Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des alten Christentums
ZRGG	Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte

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